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ENGLAND

UNDER

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

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WILLIAM PITT,

EARL OF CHATHAM.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PORTRAIT BY BRAMPTON, IN THE POSSESSION OF EARL STANHOPE.

London. Published by R. Bentley 1848.

ENGLAND

UNDER

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER;

ITS HISTORY AND CONDITION DURING THE REIGNS OF THE THREE GEORGES,

ILLUSTRATED FROM

The Caricatures and Satires of the Day.

BY

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WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS, EXECUTED BY
F. W. FAIRHOLT, F.S.A.

SECOND EDITION.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
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PREFACE.

THE application of song, and satire, and picture, to politics, is a thing of no modern date; for we trace it more or less among every people with whose history we have much acquaintance. Caricatures and songs have been found in Egyptian tombs. The song and the lampoon were the constant attendants on, and incentives in, those incessant political struggles which, during the middle ages, were preparing for the formation of modern society; and many an old manuscript and sculptured block, whether of wood or stone, show that our forefathers in the middle ages understood well the permanent force of pictorial satire. But it is more especially in religious matters that the middle ages, like antiquity, have shown a full perception of the importance of appealing through the eye to the hearts of the masses. In the rapid and temporary movements of political strife, this weapon could not be adopted with much effect until after the invention of printing, when, by a quick process, pictures engraved could be multiplied indefinitely. It was in the latter part of the sixteenth, and especially during the seventeenth century, that engraved caricatures became a very

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formidable instrument in working upon the feelings of the populace. Songs and lampoons, which every tongue could assist in circulating, have never ceased to show themselves in great abundance during every political movement since the period when the small amount of historical information which time has left us, allows us first to trace them; and they, as well as caricatures, have been by far too much neglected as historical documents,—for in them, perhaps, alone can we hope to trace many of the real motives which caused or exerted an influence over all the great popular revolutions of the past.

In the wish to show the utility of such records of the past, by illustrating a given period of modern history from materials entirely derived from these sources, originated the following picture of the reigns of the first three Georges. It is to us an interesting period, because in it originated all those distinctions of political parties, and that peculiar spirit of constitutional antagonism, which exist at the present day. With it most of the political questions now in dispute took their rise. It consists in itself of two periods; the first, that in which the House of Brunswick was established on the throne of England upon the ruin of Jacobitism, and by the overthrow of the political creed of despotism; the second, that in which the same dynasty and its throne were defended against the encroachments of that fearful flood of republicanism which burst out from a neighbouring kingdom, and when they thus gained the victory over democracy.

During these periods both the great political parties in this country came into play; in the first, the constitution owed its salvation to the Whigs; in the second, it was in all probability saved by the Tories. It may be necessary to state that in the present work the political colour of the history has been generally given more or less as represented in the class of materials on which it is founded.

This was the period during which political caricatures flourished in England—when they were not mere pictures to amuse and excite a laugh, but when they were made extensively subservient to the political warfare that was going on. This use of them seems to have been imported from Holland, and to have first come into extensive practice after the revolution of 1688. Before that time, the art of engraving had not made sufficient progress in this country to allow them to be produced with much effect. The older caricatures, those, for instance, upon Cromwell, were chiefly executed by Dutch artists; and even in the great inundation of caricatures occasioned by the South-Sea bubble, the majority of them came from Holland. It was a defect of the earlier productions of this class, that they partook more of an emblematical character than of what we now understand by the term caricature. Even Hogarth, when he turned his hand to politics, could not shake off the old prejudice on this subject, and it would be difficult to point out worse examples than the two celebrated publications which drew upon him so much popular odium, "The Times." Modern caricature took its form from the pencils of a number of clever amateur artists, who were actively engaged in the political intrigues of the reign of George II.; it became a rage during the first years of his successor; and then seemed to be dying away, to revive suddenly in the splendid conceptions of Gillray. This able artist was certainly the first caricaturist of our country; during his long career, he produced a series of prints which form a complete history of the age.

The Work now laid before the public is necessarily but a sketch; only the more prominent points of the history of a hundred years are seized upon, and put forward in relief. The original plan adopted has been to use caricatures and satires in the same manner that other historical illustrations are commonly used, by extracting from them the point, or at least a point, which bears more particularly or directly on the subject under consideration; thus, a few figures are taken from a caricature, or a few lines from a song. Some of the more remarkable caricatures have been given entire, on separate plates. The idea, it is believed, is new, and I had to contend with the difficulties of labouring in so extensive a field, where nobody had previously cleared the way. These difficulties were, indeed, much greater than I foresaw, for no public collections of caricatures, or of political tracts and papers, exist. The poverty of our great national establishment, the British Museum, in works of this class, is deplorable. As far as regards caricatures, I had fortunately obtained access to several very extensive private collections. Of these the most important are the collections of Mr. T. Haviland Burke, whose illustrious uncle acted so important a *rôle* in the political events here recorded; and Mr. Edward Hawkins, the chief officer of the department of antiquities in the British Museum. The collection of caricatures belonging to Mr. Hawkins, is probably the largest ever made in this country, and to that gentleman my warmest thanks are due for the readiness and urbanity with which he gave me access to them. The kind attentions which I have received from Mr. Burke during the progress of this work, I shall always remember with pleasure. My sincere thanks are no less due for attentions of every kind which I have constantly met with from Mr. William Smith, of Lisle Street, who possesses probably the largest and finest collection of the works of Gillray in existence; from Mr. H. W. Diamond, who also possesses a valuable collection of caricatures; from Mr. W. D. Haggard, the President of the Numismatic Society, whose collection of historical and satirical medals has been of considerable utility; and from several other friends who have placed smaller, though valuable, collections of old caricatures at my disposal. Unfortunately, no one, as far as I have been able to discover, has made any considerable collection of political songs, satires, and other such tracts, published during the last century and the present. This is a circumstance much to be regretted, for it is a class of popular literature which is rapidly perishing, although the time is not yet past when such a collection might be made with considerable success.

In conclusion, I will merely add, that I have had to deal with a class of literature which is always more coarse than any other, and during a period which was celebrated for anything rather than for delicacy. I have steered clear of this evil as carefully as I could without infringing on the truth of the picture of manners and sentiments which this book is intended to represent. For a similar reason I have avoided entering upon the religious disputes, which were productive of much caricature and satire; but when caricature is applied to such subjects, it seldom escapes the blot of being more or less profane.

London,
July, 1848.

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ENGLAND

UNDER

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE I.

STATE OF PARTIES AT THE END OF QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN. — HIGH-CHURCH AND DR. SACHEVERELL.—ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—POLITICAL SQUIBS THAT FOLLOWED. — ATTACKS UPON THE EX-MINISTERS. — ROBERT, THE POLITICAL JUGGLER. — AGITATION AT THE ELECTIONS. — JACOBITISH POPULARITY OF THE DUKE OF ORMOND. — CARICATURES ON THE PRETENDER. — JACOBITE RIOTS AND THE RIOT ACT.—FAILURE OF THE REBELLION AND EXULTATION OF THE WHIGS. — HISTORY OF THE LONDON JACOBITE MOB. — THE KING'S DEPARTURE FOR HANOVER.

It was the 30th July, 1714, when a queen of England had just sunk upon her death-bed; and, perhaps, no monarch ever left the world in the midst of more critical circumstances. Not that the loss of the Queen herself was the object of any especial regret; for we are informed in the papers of the time, that, on the morning of the 31st, when it was reported in London that Anne was dead, the public funds immediately rose three or four per cent., and that in the afternoon, when it was known that she was still alive, they fell at once to their former value.

We must review briefly the politics of the years which had immediately preceded, to understand this singular position of affairs. Two opposing parties had arisen out of the revolution of '88. The Whigs, as the natural and stanch supporters of the new state of things, had continued, with but slight interruptions, to hold the reins of government, when they were at length thrown out of power by the intrigues of the Bed-chamber in 1710, at a moment when they had every reason to suppose themselves strong in the confidence and sympathies of their countrymen. The Tories, even when most moderate, were secret well-wishers to the exiled family; and this feeling, cherished more or less strongly, produced various shades or gradations of party, until it expressed itself in a form little short of open treason in the non-jurors and Jacobites. There can be little doubt that the whole Tory party of the reign of Queen Anne would have ultimately declared in favour of the Pretender, had he once obtained any certain prospect of success.

The antipathy between the two great political parties was of the bitterest description; and each endeavoured to render its opponents odious to the public by personal abuse and calumny, which were scattered abroad with the scurrilous licence of the press that had been handed down from the times of the Commonwealth and Charles the Second. It is hardly possible to conceive anything more abhorrent to good feeling than the virulent language of the political pamphlets of the age of which we are speaking, and which crept even into the more respectable literature of the day. A Tory newspaper, the *Post-Boy* of March 30, 1714, observes seriously, that "To desire the Whigs to forbear lying, we are sensible would be a most unreasonable request; because it is their nature, and their faction could not subsist without it." Their enemies endeavoured to throw upon the Whigs, as a body, the imputation with which the Commonwealth men had been stigmatised in the previous century: they were a hypocritical set of schismatics and republicans, worthy only to figure on the gallows or the pillory. A song, circulated in 1712, describes them as a pack of ill-grained dogs.

"There 's atheists and deists, and fawning Dissenter;
There 's republican sly, and long-winded canter;
There 's heresy, schism, and mild moderation,
That 's still in the wrong for the good of the nation;
There 's Baptist, Socinian, and Quakers with scruples,
'Till kind toleration links 'em all in church-couples.

"Some were bred in the army, some dropt from the fleet;
Under bulks some were litter'd, and some in the street;
Some are good harmless curs, without teeth or claws;
Some were whelp'd in a shop, and some runners at laws;
Some were wretched poor curs, mongrel starvers and setters,
Till, dividing the spoil, they put in with their betters."

The Whigs were by no means backward in throwing similar dirt in the faces of the Tories, whom they looked upon in the light of traitors and rebels. Among the clergy, unfortunately, these political animosities were more acrimonious than among the laity, and the pulpit everywhere teemed with seditious and libellous sermons. A considerable portion of the clergy had refused to acknowledge King William, and were strongly tainted with Jacobitism; and a still greater number had only conformed to the circumstances of the times, reluctantly and with mental reservations, in order to preserve the temporal advantages they derived from the Church; and, although several of the bishops, such as Burnet and Hoadly, with a number of the lower clergy, were distinguished by their liberal and tolerant feelings, a very large party, who claimed the lofty-sounding title of the High-Church, hated everything like a Dissenter with an intense spirit of persecution, and detested the Whigs as much for the protection they afforded them, as for their political creed. The Tory papers could hardly allude to a misfortune which had occurred to a Dissenter without a sneer or a joke. The *Weekly Packet* of November 12, 1715, has the following article:—"On Monday last, the Presbyterian minister at Epsom broke his leg, which was so miserably shattered, that it was cut off the next day. This is a great token, that those pretenders to sanctity do not walk so circumspectly as they give out." The other party was by no means slow in retaliating on the Church, which lost its dignity and its sacred character in these unseemly disputes. The Whig pamphlets and songs pictured in broad colours the unsanctified lives of many of the Church clergy, their venality and greediness; and one song ends with the taunt, that

> "They swallow all up
> Without e'en a gulp:
> There 's nought chokes a priest but a halter."

Unfortunately, too, many of the leading men on both sides sullied their great talents by dishonesty and profligacy, and gave a handle for the malice of their opponents.

The Revolution had been essentially aristocratic in character, and no appeal had then been made to the passions of the multitude. Hence arose the great strength of the Whigs in the House of Lords. The first regular political mob was a High-Church mob, stirred up for the purpose of raising a clamour against the Whigs, and to influence the elections for Parliament. This appeal to the lower orders was made through a divine of very little moral character and no great abilities, the notorious Dr. Henry Sacheverell, who, a renegade from Whiggism which had not been profitable to him, was now a violent Tory with a better prospect of gain; and, after two or three attacks on the Government, which had been passed over with contempt, preached a sermon at St. Paul's before the Lord Mayor and Corporation on the 5th of November, 1709; in which, taking for his text the words of St. Paul, "Perils from false brethren," he held up the Whig Lord Treasurer Godolphin to the hatred of his countrymen under the title of Volpone, attacked in a scurrilous manner the bishops who were against persecuting the Dissenters, condemned the Revolution, and asserted in the broadest sense the doctrine of passive obedience to arbitrary power. Such of the congregation as listened to the sermon were offended at the language of the preacher; and the matter was brought before the Privy Council, which determined upon an impeachment, and thus fell into a snare that had perhaps been laid for them. The seditious sermon was printed, and the Tories exerted themselves with so much activity in dispersing it abroad, that no less than forty thousand copies are said to have been sold. A tedious trial, ill-conducted, ended in the condemnation of the sermon (which was burnt by the hangman), and in the Doctor being inhibited from preaching during three years. The trial was the making of Sacheverell; he was now held forth by the High-Church party as a martyr for the good cause; and it was darkly intimated that the Queen (who had a strong leaning towards the High-Church) secretly approved of his conduct. Every kind of means was employed to provoke people to join in the cry, that the Church and the Crown were in danger from those who now ruled the country, and that Sacheverell was persecuted because he had stood up in their defence. Incendiary sermons were preached from the pulpit; money is said to have been freely distributed among the mob, and songs were written to keep up the excitement; even caricatures, which at this time were not so much in use as half a century later, were made in considerable numbers on this occasion. In fact, it was the first event of English history in the eighteenth century which furnished a subject for caricatures. Dean Kennett, in a pamphlet published in 1714,* tells us, that, "For distinguishing the friends of Dr. Sacheverell as the only true churchmen, and representing his enemies as betrayers of the Church, there were several cuts and pictures designed for the mob; among others a copper-plate, with a crown, mitre, bible, and common prayer, as supported by the truly evangelical and apostolical, truly monarchical and episcopal, truly legal and canonical, or truly Church of England fourteen," who had supported Sacheverell through his trial. A verse or two will be quite sufficient as a sample of the Sacheverell songs. One of them, entitled "The Doctor Militant; or, Church Triumphant," to be sung to the tune of "Pakington's Pound," begins with the following attack upon the Whigs:—

---

* *The Wisdom of looking backwards*, p. 13. Several of the prints here alluded to are in the collection of Mr. Hawkins. In general, they are equally poor in design and execution. I have not met with a copy of the "copper-plate" described by Kennett.

"Bold Whigs and fanatics now strive to pull down
The true Church of England, both mitre and crown;
To introduce anarchy into the nation,
As they did in Oliver's late usurpation.
In Queen Anne's happy reign
They attempt it again,
Who burn the text, and the preacher arraign.
Sachev'rell, Sachev'rell, thou art a brave man,
To stand for the Church and our gracious Queen Anne."

It must be confessed that there was little in the doings of the Whigs of Queen Anne's reign to justify the fear, that they were introducing anarchy. After a few more verses in this strain, and some allusions to the turbulence under the Commonwealth, the song ends with a lamentation for the loss of the "*golden* days" of King Charles the Second:—

"While knaves thus contended to sit on the throne,
The owner had hopes to recover his own;
And so it fell out, in the midst of their jars,
The King's restoration did finish the wars;
In whose golden days
The Church held the keys,
And kept in subjection such rebels as these.
For there were Sachev'rells, whom God did inspire
To rescue the Church from fanatical fire."

But the allusions of the time show us that there were many songs of a far more violent, and even treasonable character, which were sung about the streets, and only printed clandestinely. Few or none of these have been preserved, but they probably pointed much more distinctly to the real point aimed at, the introduction of the Pretender, to the exclusion of the House of Hanover, which was the covert aim of all this abuse of the Cromwellian period and lavish praise of the reign of the restored Charles. This design we shall very soon see carried out more openly.

Another song, entitled "High-Church Loyalty," goes on in the same tone as the one quoted above:—

"Ye Whigs and Dissenters, what would ye have done?
Ne'er think of restoring your old '41.
Then fill up a bowl, fill it up to the brim;
Here 's a health to all those who the Church do esteem!
We know the pretence, you for liberty bawl;
But had you your will, you 'd destroy Church and all.
Then fill, &c.

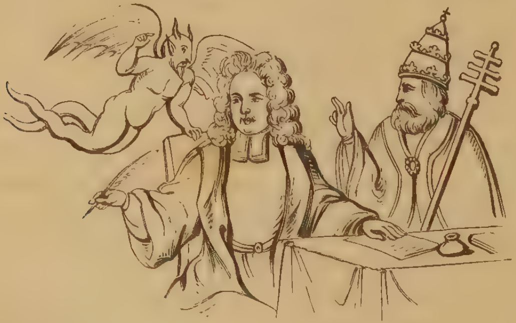
* * * * * *

While the Phœnix stands up, and the Bow bells do ring,
Here 's a health to Sachev'rell, and God bless the Queen!"

This song was answered and parodied in doggrel about as good as that in which it was itself written:—

"You pinnacle-flyers, where would you advance?
What, would you be bringing of Perkin from France?
Instead of a bowl fill'd up to the brim,
A halter for those that would bring Perkin in!"

The Whigs not only wrote and sung against Sacheverell, but they caricatured him, and that very severely. In an engraving of this time the Doctor is represented in the act of writing his sermon, prompted on one side by the Pope and on the other by the Devil, these three being the "false brethren"



THE THREE FALSE BRETHREN.

from whom the Church was really in danger. The other party, in revenge, caricatured Bishop Hoadly, the friend of the Dissenters, and one of the most able of the Low-Church party, in a number of prints, in which the evil one was pictured as closeted with that prelate, whose bodily infirmities were turned to ridicule. Moreover, they made a nearly exact copy of the caricature of Sacheverell, with a bishop mitred in the place of the Pope, and the Devil flying away in terror at the Doctor's sermon, thus insinuating that this miserable tool was the great defence of the Church of Christ against the attacks of Satan. A remarkable instance of this adaptation of one design to the two sides of the question is furnished by the medal, which must have been distributed in large quantities, having on one side the head of the preacher surrounded by the words H. SACH. D.D., while the inscription on the reverse, IS FIRM TO THEE, surrounded on some copies of the medal a mitre, and on others the head of the Pope, thus being calculated to suit purchasers of all parties.* The Whigs looked upon him as the trumpeter of the Pope, while with the Tories he was the champion of the Church of England. For the Whigs and Dissenters had raised the cry of "No Popery!" in answer to the Tory outcry of the danger of the Church; and every sensible man saw that the contest between high-church and low-church was in reality a struggle for the succession to the crown between the House of Stuart and the House of Hanover. A large portion of the nation looked forwards, with a variety of different feelings, to the possibility of Queen Anne being succeeded on the throne by the Pretender.

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* The caricatures here alluded to will all be found in the collection of Mr. Hawkins. The figure of Dr. Sacheverell was placed on a multitude of different articles of ornament or use. Mr. C. Roach Smith possesses a tobacco-stopper, with a medal-formed extremity, bearing the head of Sacheverell, and the reverse of the mitre, with the same inscription as the medal described in the text. Amid the virulent partyism of this age, all kinds of ornamented articles were made the means of conveying caricatures, and we even find them on seals for letters, and on buttons for people's coats, as somewhat later they appear on playing-cards and on ladies' fans.

It was clearly with this object that a cabal sought to displace the Whig ministry. Plunder and mischief were a much greater incitement than any abstract principles to the class of persons who composed the mob; and the Dissenters, who were not persecuted for any crimes of their own, but for the pretended offences of the older age of Presbyterian rule, (for under the tolerant governments of King William and Queen Anne they had become a quiet and harmless portion of the community,) were deliberately pointed out as objects of attacks. On the second day of Sacheverell's trial, the mob which had followed him to Westminster Hall was assembled in the evening; and, being joined by a multitude of persons of the very lowest class of society, proceeded to Lincoln's-Inn Fields, where was the meeting-house of a celebrated Dissenting preacher, Mr. Burgess, now known by the name of Gate-street Chapel. The mob burst into this chapel; and, amid ferocious shouts of "High-Church and Sacheverell!" tore out the pulpit, pews, and every thing combustible, and with these and the cushions and bibles made a large bonfire in the middle of Lincoln's-Inn Fields. They treated in the same manner other well-known meeting-houses in Long Acre, in New Street, Shoe Lane, in Leather Lane, in Blackfriars, and in Clerkenwell. In the latter neighbourhood they mistook an episcopal chapel for a Dissenter's meeting-house, because it had no steeple, and would have destroyed the house of Bishop Burnet, had they not met with a vigorous resistance. No stop was put to their proceedings until it was reported that they were going to attack the Bank, when they were dispersed by a detachment of the Queen's guards. It was commonly stated that persons of a higher class of society in hackney-coaches directed the movements of this mob, and distributed money amongst them. In fact, the High-Church party approved of their proceedings, and justified them by referring to the attacks on Popish chapels at the period of the Revolution. A poem "Upon the Burning of Mr. Burgess's Pulpit" exclaims,

"Invidious Whigs, since you have made your boast,
That you a Church of England priest would roast,
Blame not the mob for having a desire
With Presbyterian tubs to light the fire."

The success which had so far attended this plan encouraged Sacheverell's patrons to carry it further, and to try its effect on the mobs of other parts of the kingdom. The Doctor made a progress through various parts of England, marching in a sort of triumphal procession, and was received in cities and towns as though he had been some great dignitary.

"Good folks, I pray, have you not heard
Of a criminal of late,
Who has rode through town and country too
In a most pompous state?
In a most pompous state indeed,
In a train of brainless fools,
All managed by some knaves above,
And made their easy tools."

So says one of the Whig ballads of the day; and the object of Sacheverell's progress was apparent to all. Robert Harley and Henry St. John, who were shortly afterwards raised to the peerage by the titles of Lords Oxford and Bolingbroke, had obtained the ear of the Queen, and thrown out the Whigs without possessing the confidence of the nation; and they seized the moment of excitement thus raised by Sacheverell for the election of a new Parliament, and succeeded in obtaining a large Tory majority. It is hardly necessary to describe the reckless manner in which the new ministry sacrificed the honour and interests of the country at Utrecht, or the succession of intrigues which ended in the disgrace of the Earl of Oxford only three days before the period mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Bolingbroke, now at the height of his ambition, and less scrupulous even than his former colleague, formed a ministry which could be designed for no other purpose than to sacrifice this country to France and introduce the Pretender,—a ministry of which more than one-half were subsequently attainted of high treason.

On the 1st of August, 1714, Queen Anne died. The plans of the Jacobite ministry had, in the meantime, been entirely defeated by the energetic activity of the Whig nobles, and George I. was proclaimed King of England without opposition. As might naturally be expected, the new monarch threw himself entirely into the hands of the Whigs. To them in a great measure he owed his throne; and he could not help looking upon the Tories as the personal enemies of his family. This treatment probably drove the latter to unite in stronger measures of opposition, than many of them would, in other circumstances, have approved.

The exultation of the party now restored to power was soon visible in a number of lampoons and satirical writings. On the 7th of August, the *Flying Post*, one of the most violent organs of the Whigs, gave, instead of its usual proportion of intelligence and political observations, three songs, under the title of "A Hanover Garland," the third of which concludes with the lines,—

> "Keep out, keep out Han—'s [*Hanover's*] line,
> 'Tis only J—s [*James*] has right divine,
> As Romish parsons cant and whine,
> And sure we must believe them:
> But if their Prince can't come in peace,
> Their stock will every day decrease,
> And they will ne'er see Perkin's face,
> So their false hopes deceive them."

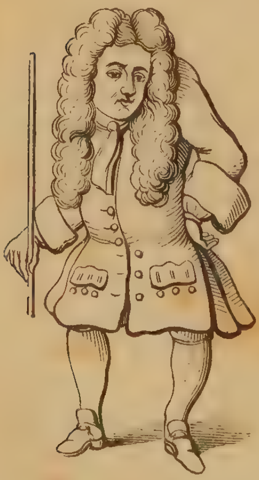
The same journal, on the 10th of August, gives a burlesque list of articles for public sale, among which are, "The Art of Billingsgate; or, infallible rules to rail and talk nonsense. In 10 volumes. By Harry Sacheverell. They will be sold cheap, because they are lately damag'd with mum;" and "Rules for making a bad peace when an enemy is under one's power; or, the way to part with all rather than ask anything. Wrote by a minister of state to Queen Dido, and dedicated to all fools and ninnyhammers." Both these sarcastic allusions contained intimations of the desire, if not the design, of revenge.

In the moment of his success, Sacheverell is said to have been flattered with the prospect of a bishopric; but the only preferment he eventually obtained was the good living of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and he had long been looked upon with the personal contempt he deserved by those whose tool he had been, when the accession of the House of Hanover came to excite his apprehensions. We learn from the newspapers of the day, that in the first week after the death of Queen Anne there was some talk of ejecting the Doctor from his living; and his name was brought forward on one or two other occasions. But he seems to have been cautious of provoking too far a party in power, when he had evidently much to lose and nothing to gain; and, as his own party had soon more illustrious martyrs to cry up, in the persons of Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond, he was regarded as an object too mean even for persecution, and he was allowed to enjoy what he had until his death.

It was, however, soon evident that the late ministers were not likely to escape with the same ease. The cabal by which they had risen first to power had been peculiarly undignified; not only the mode in which they had concluded the war, but the whole of their administration, had been anti-national in the extreme; and the persecutions to which they had subjected many of the distinguished Whigs now led to recriminations and passions which were not to be pacified without vengeance. The *Flying Post* of the 10th of August, the same in which occurs the burlesque just mentioned, contained also the following advertisement:—"The traytor's coat of arms, curiously engraved on a copper-plate: the crest a Welshman strip'd of his grandeur, playing upon a hornpipe, to lull his senses under his misfortunes; an Earl's coronet, filled with French flower-de-luces, and tipt with French gold; the Pretender's head in the middle. The coat, three toads in a black field; the three toads are the old French coat-of-arms,—being in reverse denotes treason in perfection. The supporters are, a

French Popish priest in his habit, with a warming-pan upon his shoulder, and a penknife in his left hand, ready to execute what the Popish religion dictates upon Protestants: on the other side, a Scots Highlander, some call him Gregg; a pack upon his back, and a letter in his hand, betraying the kingdom's safety; for his encouragement and protection, he has his master's magic wand and borrowed golden angel. The motto, *Pour la veuve et l'orphelin*, i. e. For the widow and orphan. Sold by A. Boulter, without Temple Bar." This was apparently the first English caricature published during the reign of George I.; a *second edition* was advertised shortly after its appearance, and it therefore probably enjoyed considerable popularity, yet I have not been able to ascertain that a single copy is now in existence. It was of course aimed at the ex-Lord Treasurer, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, one of whose creatures, a Scot named Gregg, had been engaged in some unpatriotic intrigues during the late ministry. The "widow and orphan" were Mary of Modena and the Pretender. The warming-pan will be explained a little farther on.

The conduct of Anne's Tory ministry began now also to be arraigned in political romances and tales, a style of writing which had been imported from France, and had become popular since the Restoration. About the end of August appeared the "History of the Crown Inn, with the death of the widow, and what happened thereon," dedicated to the Lord John Bull. The "Secret History of the White Staff," (by De Foe,) and the different pamphlets in answer to it and in defence of it, in which the character of the Lord Treasurer Oxford (who, having been the principal mover in the Bed-chamber plots by which Marlborough and Godolphin had been overthrown, was an object of especial odium among the Whigs) was very freely discussed, also made considerable noise. At the beginning of the year 1715 was published "A Second Tale of a Tub; or, the History of Robert Powel, the Puppet-showman," written by Thomas Burnet, a son of the Bishop of Salisbury; in which the various intrigues by which Harley and his colleagues had attained to power are told under fictitious characters, in a manner well calculated to take hold upon the sentiments of an ordinary class of readers. A second edition of this book was published within a few weeks. In the frontispiece, the Earl of Oxford, the great political juggler of the time, is caricatured under the figure of Powel (a man immortalised in the *Spectator* as the keeper of a puppet-show in the Piazza of Covent Garden) exhibiting his puppets to the world. "Well, gentlemen, you shan't be baulk'd. I'll hang out my canvas too, and, like my brother monster-mongers, well daub'd into the bargain. Stare then—and behold—the novel figure. You see what is written over his head, *This is Mr. Powel*—that's he—the little crooked gentleman, that holds a *staff* in his hand, without which he must fall. The sight is well worth your money, for you may not see such another these seven years, nay, perhaps not this age." In one part of this book we have a rather ingenious


ROBERT, THE POLITICAL JUGGLER.

story or vision of an island of noses, in which the dreamer meets with a large hooked-nose (Marlborough), covered with rags and dirt, the reward he had received for beating the enemies of his country. Suddenly a procession of flat-noses is seen approaching; "for a distemper lately come from France [an allusion to the intrigues of Anne's last ministry with the French court] has swept away most of our palates, and sunk our noses in the manner that you will see, and that is one reason why the high hook-noses have of late been so much out of fashion." "My friend was going on, when at the end of the aforesaid cavalcade a parcel of rabble flat Frenchify'd bridgless noses came and set upon him in a most base and barbarous manner, and, with a snuffling broken tone, call'd him 'Traytor!' Upon which my friendly Mucterian took to his heels, and by that escap'd their fury. I could not but ask in a fret why they dealt with him in that inhuman manner; which I no sooner had said, when up comes a nose quite black and rotten, and in pieces of words tells me that I am a sawcy fellow to question a thing so well known. 'As what?' quoth I. 'As what?' says he; 'why, that fellow you was in company with is a traytor, for 'tis plain he beat our enemies, and so prolonged an offensive war. Besides, he's a high hooked-nose, and is a traytor of course!' Indeed, I observ'd my friend's nose was something high and crooked; but, in all my life, I never heard the shape of a nose urged as treason before. In short, these vile flat-noses [the Tories] did not stay for my answer; but one of the most stinking among them blew himself out upon me, and then call'd me 'Nasty fellow!' and so left me to wipe up the affront."

The discomfited Tories, who were not generally backward in taking up the pen, or deficient in able men to use it, were at first entirely confounded by the sudden and unexpected course of events. One of the first lampoons upon the Whigs came from the pen of the scurrilous publican-poet, Ned Ward. Marlborough, who had sought peace in voluntary exile,—the high hooked-nose escaped from the flat-noses, as Thomas Burnett has it,—returned immediately on the death of the Queen, landed at Dover, and was conducted in triumph to London by a long train of gentlemen in carriages and on horseback, on the 4th of August. The Hanoverian envoy, Bothmar, writes, that the Duke "came to town amidst the acclamations of the people, as if he had gained another battle of Hochstet." Ned Ward gave vent to the spleen of his party by ridiculing this procession in Hudibrastic doggrel, under the title of "The Republican Procession; or, the tumultuous Cavalcade." Ward describes the Duke's escort as

"Consisting of a factious crew,
Of all the sects in Rosse's view,
From Calvin's Anti-Babylonians,
Down to the frantick Muggletonians;
Mounted on founder'd skins and bones,
That scarce could crawl along the stones,
As if the Roundheads had been robbing
The higglers' inns of Ball and Dobbin,
And all their skeletonian tits
That could but halt along the streets:
The frightful troops of thin-jaw'd zealots,
Curs'd enemies to kings and prelates,
Those champions of religious errors,
Looking as if the prince of terrors
Was coming with his dismal train
To *plague* the city once again."

The Tories of that age affected to look with contempt on the commercial interests of the country, and on the moneyed houses of the city, for the merchants had placed their confidence in the foreign policy of the Whigs. Ward, after speaking of the "Low-Church city elders," says:—

"Next these, who, like to blazing stars,
Portend domestic feuds and wars,
Came managers and bank-directors,
King-killers, monarchy-electors,
And votaries for lord-protectors;
That, had old subtle Satan spread
His net o'er all the cavalcade,
He might at one surprizing pull
Have fill'd his low'r dominion full
Of atheists, rebels, Whigs, and traytors,
Reforming knaves and regulators;
And eas'd at once this land of more
And greater plagues than Egypt bore."

Under the circumstances of the times, the Tories did not venture, except in rare instances, to exhibit the extent of their exasperation by the ordinary way of publicity. They reckoned again upon the mob to embarrass the Government, and a multitude of low libels and seditious papers were hawked and distributed about the streets for half-pence and pence, which kept the populace in a perpetual state of excitement. Few of these papers are now preserved. There is one, in a broadside, "price one penny," in the British Museum, which, under the title of "A Dialogue between my Lord B——ke and my Lord W——n," (Bolingbroke and Wharton,) contains a satirical attack on the Duke of Marlborough, when he was returning to England. Before the end of August a multitude of such penny and half-penny libels were spread over the country, in which the Whigs were compared to the levellers of the days of Charles I.; and attacks, as scurrilous and indecent as they were unprovoked, were heaped upon the Dissenters. "The Tories," says a newspaper of the date just mentioned, "who have the *black* mob on their side, cry, 'No calves' heads!' 'No king-killers!'" In November, the political hawkers and ballad-singers had become extremely troublesome about the streets of London, and the Lord Mayor was compelled to seize upon many of them, and throw them into the House of Correction. On the 16th of November, an order of Council appeared for the suppression and punishment of "false and scandalous libels" hawked about the streets; and on the 24th of the same month another proclamation to the same purpose was made; but the object of these measures appears to have been but partially effected. The *Political State* (November, 1714, p. 446) gives the titles of some of the seditious pamphlets sent abroad in this manner; among which appears "The Duke of Marlborough's Cavalcade," probably the poem of Ned Ward described above. Some of these papers and ballads appear to have been of a treasonable description. To give instances from a little later date, out of a great number which might be collected together, we may mention, that, in the *Weekly Packet* of January 7, 1716, we are informed, "Last Monday the Lord Mayor committed a woman to Newgate for singing a seditious ballad in Gracechurch Street;" and it is stated in the *Flying Post* of the 27th of May immediately following, that "last Saturday" the grand jury of the city of London "presented a seditious and scandalous paper, called 'Robin's last Shift, or Shift Shifted,' and the singing of scandalous ballads about the streets, as a common nuisance, tending to alienate the minds of the people; and we hear an order will be published to apprehend those who cry about or sing such scandalous papers. They have also presented such as go about with wheelbarrows and dice, and make it their practice to cheat people; and such as go about streets to clean shoes on the Sabbath day." Scraps of information like this give us a curious view of the streets of London somewhat more than a hundred years ago.

The prejudices against Dissenters were inflamed in every possible manner, for the hardly concealed purpose of raising a new High-Church mob, and exerting through it the same violent influence over the elections which had been so successful in bringing together the Parliament that was now separating. Two agents, opposite enough in their characters, were actively employed in this work—the pulpit and the stage. Before the end of December it was found necessary, by a royal proclamation, to order the clergy to avoid entering upon state affairs in their sermons. At the theatre, the plays or the prologues often contained political sentiments or allusions which led at times to serious riots. Farces were brought out in which the Dissenters were exhibited in an odious or degrading light. To quote from the journals of the period at which the consequent excitement was pushed up to its highest point, and when mobs were perpetrating mischief and destruction in many parts of the kingdom, we find advertised, in the beginning of June, 1715, "The City Ramble; or, the Humours of the Compter. As it is now acted with universal applause at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. By Captain Knipe." It is added, that the book was "adorned with a curious frontispiece, representing a Presbyterian teacher and his doxy as committed to the Compter." I have not been able to meet with the book, or the "curious frontispiece," which was what may be looked upon legitimately as a caricature; but it had no doubt an immediate aim, for the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields was in close proximity to the same celebrated Dissenters' meeting-house which had been so rudely treated by the Sacheverell mob. Even at Oxford, after a High-Church riot about this time, a member of the University, in an anonymous tract in justification of it, stated that an Anabaptist preacher of that town had baptized two young women in the morning, and been found in bed between them at night,—one of those slanderous stories which had been borrowed from the days of the Cavaliers.

The effect of this incessant agitation was not long in showing itself; for the first outbreak took place on the day of the King's coronation, the 20th of October, 1714. On the evening of that day, the citizens of Bristol illuminated their windows, and made bonfires in the streets, and the corporation gave a ball. The first signal for the riot which followed is said to have been a report that the Whigs were going to burn the effigy of Sacheverell; upon which a mob suddenly collected together and rushed through the streets, breaking the windows that were illuminated, and putting out the bonfires, at the same time raising ferocious shouts of "Down with the Roundheads! God bless Dr. Sacheverell!" They repaired to the town-hall, and threw large stones through the windows of the ball-room, to the great danger of the persons assembled there. The attacks of the mob were now more especially directed against the Dissenters; they entirely gutted the house of one of them, a baker named

Stevens, who was killed by the assailants in an attempt to expostulate with them. This fatal catastrophe appears to have arrested the mob, and no further mischief was done; but several of the rioters were tried, and severely punished. The town of Chippenham, in Wiltshire, continued in an uproar during several nights, and houses were attacked, and their inmates ill-treated. Other riots, equally alarming, occurred at the same time at Norwich, Reading, Birmingham, and Bedford. At Birmingham the mob was very violent, and their shout was, "Sacheverell for ever! Down with the Whigs!" At Bedford, where the proceedings of the mob seem to have been countenanced by the magistrates, the public May-pole was dressed in mourning. In spite of a proclamation against riots, issued on the 2nd of November, the mobs in many places continued to create disturbances. At Axminster, in Devonshire, on the 5th of November, the "High-Church rabble," as the newspapers call them, shouted for the Pretender, and drank his health as King of England.

The elections which came on in January were carried on even with more violence than those of 1710;* but times were altered, and the Whigs obtained an overpowering majority. It was on these two occasions that English elections of members for Parliament first took that character of turbulence and acrimony which for more than a century destroyed the peace and tranquillity of our country towns, and from which they have only been relieved within a few years. The *Flying Post* of January 27, 1715, gives the following burlesque "bill of costs for a late Tory election in the West," in which part of the country the Tory interest was strongest :—

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* Many seditious and treasonable writings were spread about in January, one of which made much noise, and was vigorously prosecuted. Under the title of "English Advice to the Freeholders of England," it was a violent attack upon the Whigs, both personally and collectively, and was particularly rancorous against the Duke of Marlborough; it pointed out the pretended dangers of the Church from the principles of the House of Hanover, and exhorted the electors to fly to its aid.

	£	s.	d.
Imprimis, for bespeaking and collecting a mob	20	0	0
Item, for many suits of knots for their heads .	30	0	0
For scores of huzza-men	40	0	0
For roarers of the word "Church" . .	40	0	0
For a set of "No Roundhead" roarers . .	40	0	0
For several gallons of Tory punch on Church tombstones	30	0	0
For a majority of clubs and brandy-bottles .	20	0	0
For bell-ringers, fiddlers, and porters . .	10	0	0
For a set of coffee-house praters . . .	40	0	0
For extraordinary expense for cloths and lac'd hats on show-days, to dazzle the mob .	50	0	0
For Dissenters' damners	40	0	0
For demolishing two houses	200	0	0
For committing two riots	200	0	0
For secret encouragement to the rioters . .	40	0	0
For a dozen of perjury men	100	0	0
For packing and carriage paid to Gloucester .	50	0	0
For breaking windows	20	0	0
For a gang of aldermen-abusers . . .	40	0	0
For a set of notorious lyars	50	0	0
For pot-ale	100	0	0
For law, and charges in the King's Bench .	300	0	0
	1460	0	0

It will be observed in this "bill" that bribery is not put down as one of the prominent features of an election at this period; violence was, as yet, found to be more effective than corruption.

The new Parliament met towards the end of March.

The following statement in the *Weekly Packet* (a Tory paper) of April 2, 1715, will furnish an amusing picture, not only of parliamentary manners *outside* the house at this date, but of the wild spirit of partyism :—“ Last week the footmen belonging to the members of the House of Commons, according to the custom of their masters, (which they had strictly imitated for more than thirty years,) proceeded to the choice of a Speaker; when those that espouse the cause of the Whigs chose Mr. Strickland’s man, and the Tory livery gentry the servant of Sir Thomas Morgan. Hence a battle ensued between the two contending parties, wherein several broken heads discovered the resolution of each to abide by its respective choice, though the combatants were at that time forced to leave the victory undecided (the House rising). But on Monday last they returned to their former trial of skill; and the Tories, after an obstinate resistance from the Whigs, who would by no means show themselves passive, but disputed their ground inch by inch, had the better of their adversaries, and carried their mock Speaker three times round Westminster Hall. After which, he that was chosen to fill their chair, as well as his predecessor, according to ancient usage, spent their crowns apiece in drink at a dinner, which an adjacent ale-house entertained them with gratis.”

No sooner had the Parliament assembled, than the Tories were alarmed by the threatened impeachment of the late ministers. This gave rise to a fierce controversy with the pen, before it became a matter of debate in the senate : for two or three weeks, pamphlet upon pamphlet, on both sides of the question, issued daily from the press, some written calmly and moderately, while others were characterised by all the bitterness and scurrility of the party spirit of those days. Among the Whig writers, who made the greatest noise in their different circles, were Thomas Burnett, already mentioned, whose father the Bishop was now dead, and the more prolific party-writer John Dunton, whose pamphlets were calculated for wider distribution among a somewhat lower class of readers. Burnett was rather rudely handled in this controversy, and was made the butt of several satirical tracts, the writer of one of which undertook to prove that he was asleep when he wrote his pamphlet in defence of the impeachment. Dunton was a scheming needy writer; he was a broken bookseller, and now, as old age approached, sought to gain a support from government by the zeal and number of his political writings; he was withal somewhat of a wag. A few months after the date of which we are speaking, on the 1st of May, 1716, we learn from the *Flying Post* that John Dunton and "a devil" ("*i. e.* a printer's boy:" this appears to be an early instance of the use of the term) were seen marching through the streets of London, and distributing a book entitled "Seeing 's believing; or, King George proved a Usurper." The citizens, astonished that any one should possess the impudence to sell such a book openly, probably thought he was mad; but he was without delay arrested, and carried first before the Lord Mayor, and subsequently before one of the Secretaries of State. A rumour was soon spread abroad that Dunton had become a convert to Jacobitism; and, while the Whigs were scandalised at his defection, the Tories rejoiced loudly at having gained so popular a champion. But their joy was changed into vexation, when it was made known that the tract in question, instead of being a treasonable libel, was a bitter lampoon on their own party; and Dunton and his friends went to a noted Whig tavern in St. John's Lane, to laugh in their sleeves and drink loyal toasts.

The history of the impeachments is well known: Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to France, and openly joined the Pretender, and they were accordingly attainted. Oxford was thrown into the Tower; but, after a wearisome imprisonment, he escaped without further hurt. The result was advantageous, as far as it secured the principle that ministers of the Crown are personally responsible for the acts of their administration; and it forced secret enemies, who were plotting against the Government, to show themselves openly. Indeed, this measure, probably more than anything else, led to the premature outbreak of the Jacobite rebellion towards the end of the year.

Ormond was the only one of the late ministers who enjoyed much popularity, and his name was now substituted for that of Sacheverell in the cries of the mob. From this moment the Doctor lost his importance; and within a few years, at the time when Hogarth drew his series of the "Harlot's Progress," Sacheverell's portrait was looked upon as a fit companion for that of the no less notorious Captain Mackheath in the vilest dens of profligacy. The head of "Duke Ormond" now figured as an ornament on articles of common use, as Dr. Sacheverell's had done before; and a very remarkable proof of the length of time which it requires to eradicate feelings and prejudices impressed on the popular mind in times of great political excitement, is furnished by the following rather droll song upon the Duke of Ormond, preserved traditionally in the Isle of Wight. It was taken down in 1841 from the mouth of an itinerant fishmonger, who knew no more about it than that it had been sung by his father and grandfather before him.*

"I am Ormond the Brave,—did you ever hear of me?
A man lately banish'd from his own country.
I fought for my life, and I pawn'd my estate,
For being so loyal to the Queen and the great.
You know I am Ormond, I am Ormond the Brave;
You call me Jemmy Butler, but I am Ormond the Brave!

"Between Ormond and Marlbro' there rose a great dispute:
Says Ormond to Marlbro', 'I was born a duke,
And you but a foot-page to wait upon a lady;
You may thank the kind fortune, since the wars they have made ye.'
And sing hey," etc.

"'Oh!' says Marlbro,' 'now do not say so;
For if you do, from the court you shall go.'
'Oh, then,' says Ormond, 'do not be so cruel,
But draw forth your sword, and I'll end it with a duel.'
But Marlbro' went away, and he came no more there;
When the brave Duke of Ormond threw his sword into the air.
And sing hey," etc.

"'Begone, then,' says Ormond, 'you cowardly traitor!
To rob my soldiers it never was my nature,
As you have done before, we well understand;
You fill'd up your coffers, and impoverish'd your own land.'
And sing hey," etc.

"'I never was a traitor, as you have been saying:
I never damn'd Queen Anne, as she lay in her grave;
But I was Queen Anne's darling, and Old England's delight,
And for the crown of England so boldly I did fight.'
And sing hey," etc.

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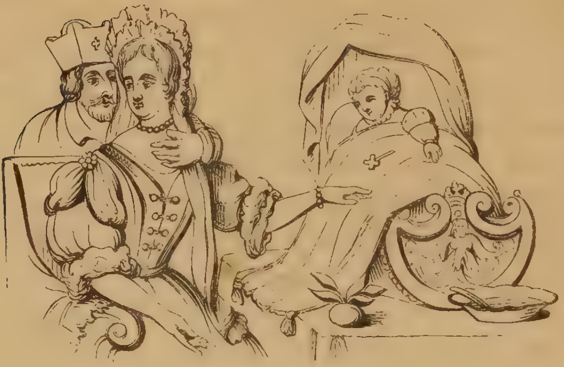
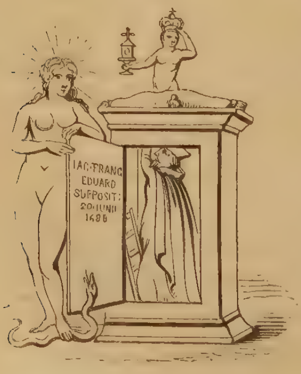
* It was communicated to me by Mr. C. Roach Smith. I look upon this song as one of the most curious relics of English Jacobite literature I have yet met with. It was no doubt one of those sung about the country on the eve of the rebellion of 1715. It is evidently much corrupted, as here given from the mouth of the singer. The fourth line should perhaps be "to Queen Anne the Great." I am told that a few years ago this song was commonly sung at the harvest-homes in the Isle of Wight.

It was by songs of this character that the minds of the lower classes in England were to have been prepared, it was hoped, to join in a general rising in favour of the exiled house of Stuart. The Jacobite minstrelsy of Scotland had, no doubt, its counterpart in this country; but its effects were much less considerable, and it was soon forgotten, with the exception of scattered scraps like that given above. The name of the Pretender was sometimes uttered by the disorderly rabble amid the election riots at the beginning of the year; but after the flight of Bolingbroke and Ormond it was heard much more frequently, and songs and satires against the Hanoverian family were sought and listened to with avidity. The Whigs replied to these with a shoal of pamphlets and papers, reproducing all the old tales of the Revolution, and casting ridicule and contempt upon the son of James II., whom they insisted on looking upon as a mere impostor. The common story was, that the Pretender was the child of a miller, and that, when newly born, he had been conveyed into the Queen's bed by means of a warming-pan; and this contrivance having been ascribed to the ingenuity of Father Petre, the Whigs always spoke of the Pretender by the name of *Perkin*, or little Peter. The *warming-pan* figures repeatedly in the satirical literature of the day. The birth of the Pretender had been the subject of a number of caricatures, chiefly of foreign growth, in the reign of King William, which were now as suitable as when first published. In one of these the Queen is represented sitting by the cradle, while her Jesuit adviser whispers her in the ear, with his hand over her neck in a familiar manner, which might at least be designated as *un peu leste*. It is a complete Catholic family. The infant has a child's



THE CATHOLIC FAMILY.

windmill, to mark the trade of its real parents; and a bowl of milk and an orange are on the table below. A much larger caricature, executed in Holland, represents the child in its cradle as here, with the windmill also, but accompanied by its two mothers and the Jesuit, while the picture is filled with a host of princes, diplomatists, ecclesiastics, &c., looking on with astonishment. It bears the title "L'Europe allarmée pour la Fils d'un Meunier." Many satirical medals were also distributed abroad. One of these, a large silver medal of fine execution, bears on one side a group representing a child on a cushion, crowned and carrying the pax (as the symbol of Romanism) in his right hand; but Truth, crushing a serpent with her foot, opens the door of a cupboard or chest under the cushion, in



TRUTH EXPOSING THE SECRET.

which we see Father Petre pushing the child up through the roof.*

The disaffected party now prepared for the dangerous game they were resolved to play by incessant agitation; for the political maxim, "Agitate, agitate," was known and practised long before the reigns of King William and Queen Victoria. The mob was, as usual, soon urged into open violence by the old cry of "The Church!" and the Dissenters underwent a much fiercer persecution than that with which they had been visited in 1710, and they bore it in general with exemplary moderation. On the 23rd of April, 1715, the anniversary of the birth-day of Queen Anne, the London mob began to assemble towards evening at the conduit on Snow Hill, where they hung up a flag and a hoop, and money having been given them to purchase wine, they collected round a large bonfire. From thence they moved off in parties in different directions, patrolling the streets during the whole night, shouting "God bless the Queen and High-Church! Bolingbroke and Sacheverell!" and attacking houses, breaking windows, insulting and robbing passengers, and levying contributions everywhere. Many of the mob were armed with dangerous weapons, and several persons were severely wounded. It was at one time proposed to pull down the Dissenters' meeting-houses, but this project was for some reason or other abandoned. The streets continued to be more or less infested in this manner night after night for some time. The 29th of April was the Duke of Ormond's birth-day, and that night the streets of London were the scene of new riots and outrages. On the night of Saturday, May 28, (the King's birth-day,) and on the Sunday night, the 29th, (the anniversary of the Restoration,) the mob committed great outrages in different parts of London, and dangerously wounded some of the constables and watch. They burnt the effigies of the chief Dissenting ministers, shouted "High-Church and Ormond!" and publicly drunk the Pretender's health in Ludgate Street and other places. A riot of a similar character occurred at Oxford on the King's birth-day, and the Quakers' chapel was attacked and stript by the mob. Within a few days of this time the same riotous spirit had carried itself into several of the largest provincial towns. At Manchester, early in June, the mob had become absolutely master of the town for several days; they destroyed all the Dissenters' chapels, threw open the prison, drunk the Pretender's health, and committed many outrages. There was near the same time a Jacobite riot at Leeds in Yorkshire. A troop of soldiers were sent to Manchester, and the Mayor of Leeds, who was accused of connivance, was brought to London in the custody of a king's messenger. Yet in July this spirit had become still more general, and had spread especially through Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire. Very serious tumults occurred at Wolverhampton, Warrington, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Newcastle-under-Line, Litchfield, West-Bromwich, and many other places. The meeting-houses of the Dissenters were everywhere destroyed; cowardly outrages were committed, and in some places sanguinary combats ended in loss of life. When the mob was pulling down the meeting-house at Wolverhampton, one of their leaders mounted on the roof, flourished his hat round his head, and shouted, "D—— King George and the Duke of Marlborough!" At Shrewsbury, where the old cry of "High-Church and Dr. Sacheverell!" was raised, a justice of the peace and a substantial tradesman were convicted of being ringleaders of the mob. At the end of July there was a serious riot at Leek, in Staffordshire, where much mischief was done; and there was another at Oxford as late as the 1st of September, when the mob shouted, "Ormond!" and "No George!" and the Pretender's health was said to have been drunk in some of the colleges.

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* This medal is still not very uncommon. Copies of it will be found in the collections of Mr. Haggard and Mr. W. H. Diamond. The caricatures alluded to, with others on the same subject, are in the collections of Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Burke.

These tumults called forth the riot act, still in force, which was passed in the month of June, and which, by making the offence felony, and obliging the city or hundred to make good the damages committed, did much towards restoring order; but more, perhaps, was done by the wholesale severity shewn towards the rioters in the trials that followed shortly after. A newspaper of the 2nd of September tells us, that "the judges have behaved very bravely." With a view to other events, which were now literally casting their shadow before them, troops of horse were quartered in several of the towns which had shewn themselves most disaffected.

We cannot at the present day feel otherwise than astonished at the facility with which these riots were carried on, and the regular communication which must have existed between the leaders of the mobs in different parts of the country. It would appear as though there had been no laws to provide against such emergencies, and no police or military force distributed through the country to hinder or suppress outbreaks of popular turbulence. It is true, that, in

London at least, the pillory and the whipping-cart were in daily use; but these instruments of punishment were robbed of the greater portion of their terrors, when a sympathising crowd (paid, as it is said, by richer men of the party) escorted the sufferer, cheered him by their shouts, and carried him away in triumph when it was over. The *Flying Post*, a violent Whig paper, in its intelligence from Coventry of the date of September 10, gives rather an amusing anecdote of the preventive effect of the new riot act, and of the methods sometimes taken to evade it for the perpetration of mischief. On the Sunday preceding, a mob had been collected at Burton-upon-Trent, with the desire at least of pulling down a Dissenters' meeting-house there at the time of divine service; but, informed of the consequences, they procured a young bull, cut off its ears and tail, tied squibs and crackers to it, and thus goaded it forwards towards the meeting-house door. The Whig writer exultingly tells us how the tortured animal suddenly turned round, and rushed through the mob, knocking down and trampling upon all who stood in its way; and how it then ran nearly two miles and furiously threw itself into the parish church, where it killed and severely injured several of the congregation.

These systematic riots were intimately connected with plots of a more serious character, with which the Government became gradually acquainted during the summer months; and these discoveries, upon which many persons of distinction were placed in custody, had a further effect in hastening the commencement of the Rebellion, while they destroyed the prospects of the Jacobites in England. The prisons throughout the country were soon filled with political offenders, many of whom were Church of England clergymen. Among other persons whom it was thought necessary to place under arrest was Sir William Wyndham, member for *Somersetshire*, (where the Jacobites were strong,) and one of the leaders of the Tory party in the House of Commons. A song called "The Vagabond Tories," published on the 20th of August, intimates the suspicion, that he was preparing to fly into France to join the Pretender.

"The knight of such fire
From S—tshire,
Who for High-Church is always so hearty,
Tho' in England he tarries,
Is equipping for Paris,
To *prevent any schism* in the party."

Sir Constantine Phipps, the Jacobite ex-Chancellor of Ireland, who had been Sacheverell's advocate at his trial, and to whom the University of Oxford had given a degree in a markedly factious manner on the King's coronation-day, is also pointed out as a conspirator:—

"The impudent P—pps
Must come in for snips,
Who at Oxford so lately was dubb'd;
Tho' instead of degree,
Such a bawler as he
Deserv'd to be heartily drubb'd.

"Young Perkin, poor elf,
May promise himself
Two things from the face of that man;
There's brass within reach
To furnish a speech
And *the lid of a warming-pan.*"

The taunts on those who had not fled are followed by sneers on those who had:—

"What Ormond, with fraud,
Long ago did abroad,
With fear he does over again;
'Tis but an old dance
To leave England for France,
He played the same trick at Denain."*

While the ministry of King George was successfully pursuing measures of security, the exultation of the Whig party sought an outlet in multitudes of songs like the foregoing; and their newspapers and pamphlets become more numerous and more exciting. Most of these songs are set to the tunes of popular ballads; one, to the tune of "A begging we will go," thus speaks of the "High-Church rebels:"—

"See how they pull down meetings,
To plunder, rob, and steal;
To raise the mob in riots,
And teach them to rebel.
Oh! to Tyburn let them go!

"At Oxford, Bath, and Bristol,
The rogues design'd to rise;
But George's care and vigilance
There's nothing can surprize.
So to Tyburn let them go!

"Their plot is all discover'd now,
Their treason nought avails;
The Tow'r and Newgate quite are full,
And all our county jails.
So to Tyburn let them go!"

In another, which was a parody upon a Jacobite song, the Tories are made to call upon the Pretender in despair:—

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* An allusion to the desertion of the allies by the English army, under the Duke of Ormond, in the year 1712.

"To you, dear Jemmy, at Lorrain,
We mournful Tories send,
Unless you'll venture one campaign,
Our cause is at an end:
We've nothing left but to be stout,
For all our plots are now found out.
With a fa la la la," &c.

"We sent you first Lord Bolingbroke,
In hopes to bring you over;
And then we sent wise Ormond's duke,
That rival of Hanover:
You need not fear if you are beat,
Since he's so good at a retreat!
With a fa la la la," &c.

When the Rebellion was entirely suppressed, and the Scottish minstrels were lamenting pathetically the departure of their prince, their brethren in England were indulging in parodies like the following:—

"'Twas when the seas were roaring
With blasts of northern wind,
Young Perkin lay deploring
On *warming-pan* reclin'd:
Wide o'er the roaring billows
He cast a dismal look,
And shiver'd like the willows
That tremble o'er the brook."

The Tories at the same time appeared discomfited even in their writings. Their newspapers give no intelligence, and make no remarks, until, as soon as the Rebellion lost all appearance of success, they begin to talk of the "rebels" as if they were themselves staunch supporters of the Hanoverian succession. John Dunton, in a pamphlet entitled "Mob-War," published at this time, says, "Even Abel Roper* now grows modest and tender-conscienced. Drunken P——tis is wretchedly dull in his Jacobite *Packet*,* and there are thoughts of dismissing him from the service. Whig papers and pamphlets are only in demand, and the booksellers who engaged in hereditary right are just a breaking. The *Examiner*† has spent himself quite, and would give five shillings apiece for political lyes, and three shillings for a probable reflection upon the present ministry." The Tories in general made their peace with the powers that were, by taking the oath of allegiance; and the *Daily Courant* of November 30, 1715, contains the following advertisement of a caricature on this subject, of which no copy, as far as I can learn, is now preserved:—"This day is published, 'A Call to the Unconverted; being an emblem of the Tories' manner of taking the oaths.' Price sixpence." A week after this, the *St. James's Post* of December 7 contains the following advertisement:—"This day is published, 'An Argument proving all the Tories in Great Britain to be Fools.' Price fourpence."

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* The *Post-Boy*, a Tory newspaper.

Amid the uneasiness and alarm which prevailed throughout the country, the metropolis was the continual scene of riot and agitation. There appears to have been no efficient police in London to keep order in the streets, along which it was unsafe to pass after dusk. We have already seen the ascendancy which the Jacobite mob had gained there in the spring, and which they seem to have kept undisturbed during the summer, waiting for the numerous anniversary days in the autumn to begin again their riotous proceedings. But a new power was rising up, which, though it did not prevent the riots, prevented some of the mischief to which they might have led.

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* The *Weekly Packet*, a newspaper we have quoted more than once.

† A violent Jacobite paper, at one period chiefly conducted by Swift.

Amid the political excitement of the preceding year, which pervaded every class of society, and seemed to have estranged people's minds from every other subject, even the taverns and public-houses of the metropolis had been gradually taking a political character; to such a degree, that about this time a guide-book was published, under the title of the "Vade-mecum of Malt-worms," containing a list of all the ale-houses in London, with an account of the persons who held them, and the political principles of each. Some of these, under the name of *mug-houses,* became the resort of small societies or clubs of political partizans, who met there on certain occasions to celebrate memorable anniversaries. Two of the oldest Whig houses were the Roebuck, in Cheapside, (opposite Bow Church,) and a mug-house in Long Acre. A society calling itself the Loyal Society held its meetings at the Roebuck after the accession of George I.; and in the history of the London riots in 1715 and 1716 this house obtained an especial celebrity. Next in fame to these were the Magpie, without Newgate, (the Magpie and Stump still standing in the Old Bailey;) a mug-house in St. John's Lane, Clerkenwell; another in Tavistock Street, Covent Garden; one in Salisbury Court, near Fleet Street; and one in Southwark Park. The two last became eventually objects of great hostility with the mob. The Tory ale-houses, which were less numerous, appear to have stood chiefly about Holborn Hill (Dr. Sacheverell's parish) and Ludgate Street. The Whig societies who frequented the mug-houses began in the autumn of 1715 to unite in parties to fight the Jacobite mob which had so long tyrannised over the streets, and they were probably joined on such occasions by a number of others, who, like the London apprentices of old, looked upon the whole only as a rough kind of diversion.

At the end of October and beginning of November a number of political anniversaries crowded together. The Prince of Wales's birth-day, the 30th of October, was celebrated on Monday the 31st. The *Flying Post*, the chief chronicler of these tumults, informs us that "A parcel of the Jacobite rabble, such as Bridewell-boys, &c., committed outrages on Ludgate Hill, broke the windows that were illuminated, scattered a bonfire, and cried out 'An Ormond!' &c.; but they were dispersed and soundly threshed by a party of the Loyal Society, who had lately burnt the Pretender in effigy." From this time we shall find the new self-constituted police constantly at war with the mob. The latter had prepared an effigy of King William to be burnt on the anniversary of that monarch's birth, Friday, November 4, and on the approach of night they assembled round a large bonfire in the Old Jury for that purpose. But information of their design having been carried to a party of the Loyal Society, who were met at the Roebuck to celebrate King William's birth-day, and who were therefore close at hand, these gentlemen hastened to the spot, and "gave the Jacks * due chastisement with oaken plants, demolished their bonfire, and brought off the effigies in triumph to the Roebuck." On the morrow, the 5th of November, the Whig mob had their celebration. They had prepared caricature effigies of the Pope, the Pretender, Ormond, Bolingbroke, and the Earl of

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* This was the term popularly given to the Jacobites.

Marr, which were carried in the following order:—"First, two men bearing each a *warming-pan*, with the represenattion of the infant Pretender, a nurse attending him with a sucking-bottle, and another playing with him by beating the warming-pan." These were followed by three trumpeters, playing *Lilliburlero* and other Whig tunes. Then came a cart, with Ormond and Marr, appropriately dressed. This was followed by another cart, containing the Pope and Pretender seated together, and Bolingbroke as the secretary of the latter. They were all drawn backwards, with halters round their necks. The procession, thus arranged, passed from the Roebuck along Cheapside, through Newgate Street and up Holborn Hill, where the Jacobite bells of St. Andrew's Church were made to ring a merry peal. From thence they passed through Lincoln's-Inn Fields and Covent Garden to St. James's, where they made a stand before the palace; and so went back by Pall Mall and the Strand, through St. Paul's Churchyard, into Cheapside: but here they found that the "Jacks" had been before-hand with them, and stolen the faggots which had been piled up for their bonfire. They therefore made a circuit of the city whilst a new bonfire was prepared, and on their return burnt all the effigies amid the shouts of the crowd.

The enmity between the mob and the Loyal Society was embittered by these first encounters, and it soon came to a fierce issue. On the 17th of November the Loyal Society met at the Roebuck, to celebrate the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth. The mob had also met to celebrate it, but in a different manner; and towards seven o'clock in the evening intelligence reached the Roebuck that they had assembled at St.

Martin-le-Grand, and were preparing, amid shouts of "High-Church, and Ormond, and King James!" to burn the effigies of King William, King George, and the Duke of Marlborough, in Smithfield. The "Loyal" gentlemen immediately marched out, and overtook them in Newgate Street, where a desperate fight took place, and, after twenty or thirty of them had been "knocked down," the mob was dispersed. They had concealed their effigies; but a boy who had been captured pointed them out to the victors, who marched back in triumph to the Roebuck. There they had hardly arrived, when a much greater mob began to assemble, and, after breaking the windows of the Roebuck, as well as those of the adjacent houses, and pulling down the sign, proceeded to burst open the door, and threatened summary vengeance upon the inmates. In this extremity, a member of the Loyal Society fired with a loaded gun down the passage, and killed one of the assailants, and the Lord Mayor and city officers coming up at the same time, the mob took to their heels. The inquest on the body of the man who was killed returned a verdict that he was slain, while in open riot and rebellion, by some one who had fired in self-defence. On subsequent nights the Roebuck appears to have been exposed to renewed, but less serious attacks, and the mob-war was carried on at least less ostentatiously during the winter.

In February we hear again of the riotous conduct of the Jacobite mob, and the mug-houses appear to have been actively refitting and preparing for a new campaign. New songs were compiled and printed for the use of the loyal gentry who frequented them, and well suited to keep up the popular excitement. One of these gives the following description of the mob, and shows that these faction-fights were very serious things.

"Since the Tories could not fight
And their master took his flight,
They labour to keep up their faction;
With a bough and a stick,
And a stone and a brick,
They equip their roaring crew for action.

"Thus in battle array,
At the close of the day,
After wisely debating their deep plot,
Upon windows and stall
They courageously fall,
And boast a great victory they have got.

"But, alas! silly boys!
For all the mighty noise
Of their 'High-Church and Ormond for ever!'
A brave Whig with one hand,
At George's command,
Can make their mightiest hero to quiver."

Towards spring festive entertainments were given at most of the mug-houses—a sort of house-warming or introduction to the season, at which the proprietors delivered formal addresses, often in verse, stating their sentiments and intentions, and boasted of their former feats against the "Jacks." One of these, the keeper of the mug-house in St. John's Lane, speaks of his frequent encounters with the mob, and after threatening what he will do himself, proceeds:—

"Nor is it for myself I speak alone:
There is my wife,—'tis true, she is but one,
But, fegs! she'll play her part against the tyler's son."

Several of these addresses will be found in the mug-house song-books. One of these festivals is thus announced in the *Flying Post* of April 12, 1716:—"This is to give notice to all gentlemen who are *well affected to the present establishment*, and lovers of good home-brew'd ale, that this present Thursday, being the 12th of April, Mrs. Smyth's mug-house in St. John's Lane, near Smithfield, will be opened; when there will be a prologue spoke, suitable to the occasion." And on the 21st of April the same paper prints this "prologue," with the following *editorial* remark:—"The following is inserted at the request of several honest gentlemen, who are hearty well-wishers to those *useful societys* that are carry'd on in Long Acre and St. John's Lane, for *the reformation of Toryism* and the propagation of loyalty to the present happy government." The same newspaper had shortly before given a new mug-house song, commencing,

"We friends of the mug are met here to discover
Our zeal to the Protestant house of Hanover,
Against the attempts of a bigotted rover.
Which nobody can deny.

"Prepare then in bumpers confusion to drink
To their cursed devices who otherwise think;
For now that vile int'rest must certainly sink.
Which nobody can deny.

"The Tories, 'tis true, are yet skulking in shoals,
To show their affection to Perkin in bowls;
But in time we will ferret them out of their holes.
Which nobody can deny."

From this period the members of the Loyal Society send to the newspapers regular reports of their night's campaign, duly dated from the head-quarters at the Roebuck. On the night of the 8th of March, the anniversary of the death of King William, a considerable mob assembled, to the old cry of "High-church and Ormond!" and marched along Cheapside to the well-known mug-house, where a party of the Loyal Society were met "for the defence of the house;" but when these issued forth, to the number of "about forty," the mob ran away, leaving many of their sticks behind them. The Loyalists then marched in procession through Newgate Street, paid their respects to the Magpie, where another party was met, and proceeded to Ludgate Hill in bravado of the "Jacks," who were strong there; but on their return they found that the mob had been collecting in greater strength in their rear in Newgate Street, where a great fight took place, in which the Whigs were again victorious, after having, to use the words of the newspaper account, "made rare work for the surgeons." The conquerors returned direct to the Roebuck, shouting "King George!" as they went, and there spent the greater part of the night in drinking loyal toasts.

The next very serious tumult occurred on the 23rd of April (the anniversary of the birth of Queen Anne). In the evening of that day the marrowbones and cleavers, the usual signal of gathering for the mob, were heard rattling along the streets; and, towards seven o'clock, parties were to be seen forming in Smithfield, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, and Fleet Street, to shouts of "High-Church and Ormond!" "No Rump Parliament!" and other similar cries. The Loyalists began to assemble at the Roebuck about the same time, and by nine o'clock had become tolerably numerous; upon which they marched forth in procession to the Magpie, and thence to Ludgate Hill, where the mob showed themselves, but would not stand. The Loyal Society then returned to the Roebuck, from whence they made a circuit into the city and returned again to the Roebuck without meeting with any opponents. But they had hardly settled themselves down to their mugs, when news arrived that the mob was coming up in great force. They then lost no time in gaining the street, and found the mob already in Cheapside at the end of Wood Street, where there was a fierce battle, ending as usual in the discomfiture of the "Jacks." The heroes of the Roebuck now marched towards the Magpie; but at the end of Giltspur Street they again found the mob, and had a more obstinate fight than before, but with the same result, and they returned to their quarters with a pile of captured hats and sticks as trophies.

An anniversary was now approaching which had always been celebrated with tumults, and such preparations appear to have been made for the present occasion, as shewed that the mob did not act solely by their own impulse. On the 29th of May, the anniversary of the Restoration of Charles II., green boughs were carried about the streets and worn on the person; and there were large meetings at St. Andrew's (to hear Dr. Sacheverell), and at the "Jacobites' conventicle in Scroop's Court, over against it." Towards night the mob became very riotous, and threatened to pull down the Roebuck and the mug-house in St. John's Lane. One of the lookers-on says, "There never was seen such a crew of tatterdemalions, for they looked as if hell had broke loose. They had gathered together all the blackguard boys, wheelbarrow-men, and ballad-singers, and knocked down people that did not carry their badges." They were, however, "soundly thresh'd" by the societies which met at the two mug-houses they had threatened; and a party of horse-guards, which just then arrived, and patrolled the streets during the night, put an end to the disturbance. Yet on the 10th of June, the birth-day of the Pretender, there were greater riots than ever, and the Loyal Society had to bring their whole force to the struggle. A Roebuck correspondent of the *Flying Post* writes some days after, "You omitted to take notice, that, on the 10th of June, several Whigs of the Loyal Society at the Roebuck, having furnish'd themselves with little *warming-pans* fit for the pocket, did ring such a dismal peal with them in the ears of the white-rose mob, that their flowers soon disappeared, and could not keep 'em from fainting." The white rose was the Pretender's badge, and had been worn on this occasion.

From this time we hear less of the Roebuck in the public prints, although it had hitherto eclipsed the fame of the other houses. But they also had been engaged with their respective mobs, especially the mug-house in Southwark, and that in Salisbury Court. On the 12th of July following the last-mentioned exploit of the Roebuck heroes, a mob, armed with clubs, assembled in Southwark, with shouts of "High-Church and Ormond!" "Down with the mug-houses!" and, attacking the mug-house there, broke the shutters and windows. The society within, however, rushed out, and drove them away. A week after this, on Friday, the 20th of July, the London mob, which, we are told, had "strangely" increased since the King's departure for Hanover, made a desperate attack on the mug-house in Salisbury Court. The society then assembled there sent for assistance to their allies in the mug-house in Tavistock Street; and, thus reinforced, they succeeded in driving away the assailants. A second attack was, however, made by a much stronger mob on the evening of Monday the 23rd; but the society held them successfully at bay till the following morning, when they had been so much increased that further resistance seemed vain. The proprietor of the house, named Read, then advanced to the door with a blunderbuss, and threatened any one who should attempt to enter the house. Instead of falling back, the mob rushed towards him with clubs and sticks, whereupon he fired and shot their ringleader dead. The mob, rendered still more furious, threw themselves upon Read, and left him to appearance lifeless; and then broke down the sign, entirely gutted the lower part of the house, drank as much ale in the cellar as they could, and let the rest run out. The magistrates and soldiers arrived about mid-day, and dispersed the mob, though not till a soldier and some other persons had been severely injured in the fray. The Loyal Society, who had barricaded themselves in the upper part of the house, were thus relieved from their unpleasant position. The inquest gave a verdict of wilful murder against Read, and he was brought to trial, but acquitted, and the Government made good the damage he had sustained. Several of the rioters were also brought to their trial; and, convicted of being active in the work of destruction, they were hanged without mercy. This event appears to have thrown a final damp upon the spirits of the mob.

At the end of June the King left England for Hanover. On his departure a treasonable libel was hawked about the streets, entitled "King G——'s farewell to England; or, the Oxford Scholars in mourning." We know little of the contents of the libels against the King's person which were thus hawked about the streets; but, to judge from what is preserved in some of the early Scottish Jacobite songs, the scandal attached to George's wife and to his mistresses was plentifully raked up. The latter were often hooted by the mob as they passed through the streets. Horace Walpole, in his *Reminiscences*, assures us that nothing could be grosser than the ribaldry that was vomited out in lampoons, libels, and every channel of abuse, against the Sovereign and the new Court, and chaunted even in their hearing in the public streets.

CHAPTER II.

GEORGE I.

PARTY FEELING AFTER THE REBELLION.—PREVALENCE OF HIGHWAY ROBBERY.—THE MOB.—BISHOP HOADLY'S SERMON, AND COLLEY CIBBER'S "NON-JUROR."—THE FRENCH MISSISSIPPI SCHEME.—THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.—SUDDEN MULTIPLICATION OF STOCK-JOBBING BUBBLES.—FALL OF THE "PAPER KING" LAW.—THE SOUTH SEA BALLAD.—SOUTH SEA CARICATURES.—BUBBLE CARDS, AND STOCK-JOBBING CARDS.—KNIGHT AND THE "SCREEN."—ELECTIONS FOR A NEW PARLIAMENT.—NEW EFFORTS IN FAVOUR OF THE PRETENDER.—BISHOP ATTERBURY'S PLOT.

THE hasty and ill-advised and ill-conducted rebellion of 1715 had effectually strengthened the power of the Whig party, and had shewn to all reasonable and thinking persons how little was to be expected from a person deficient in courage and in capacity as the Pretender had shewn himself. After the excitement caused by trials and executions of rebels had subsided, the political strife of the day sank down into a dull and monotonous war of newspaper abuse and mob sedition, which lasted for several years, with no other variety than that occasioned by some accidental outburst of more than ordinary virulence. We read almost daily of the application of the pillory or the lash to punish seditious ballad-singers and indiscreet individuals, generally of a low class in life, who had made too open an exhibition of hostility to the House of Hanover. Almost every newspaper or periodical, whether Tory or Whig, became in turn the object of prosecution for letting its party zeal go beyond the limits of moderation, although the Tory press came in for much more than an equal share of punishment. Restrained, indeed, from any more effectual method of showing their hostility, except in an occasional duel or riot, the language of the opposition became more violent and scurrilous; and the lowest and most trivial occurrences were greedily seized upon as an opportunity for insulting a political opponent. In the beginning of February, 1717, two street bullies had drawn their swords and killed a drunken man, and had been hanged for the murder. Some of the Tory papers stated that the offenders had been members of one of the Whig societies which met at the taverns, or, as they were now familiarly termed, "Muggites." The Whig newswriters indignantly repelled this accusation, and, in revenge, declared that they were both known to be notorious Tories, or "Jacks." On the 4th of January, 1718, Read's *Weekly Journal* (a violent Whig paper) tells us, that, "Last Thursday morning, a woman, *we suppose High-Church*, coming out *of a Geneva shop* in Red-Cross Street, fell down, and within some few minutes departed this mortal life for another." The latter part of the phrase is an example of the loose style of writing which distinguishes the newspaper literature of the day. A paper of this period gravely tells us, that "Yesterday three ladies were brought to bed of *a male child*," and proceeds to give their names. About the same date last quoted, a Tory paper, describing the immodest behaviour of some young women in church, asserts that they belonged to a violent Whig family; while the Whig journals made every unfortunate woman who was committed to Bridewell a Tory. A Whig clergyman was stated to have refused to bury a man who died an "*impenitent* Tory." This bitterness of party feeling was often shewn in practical jokes. Read's *Weekly Journal* of June 15, 1717, says, "Last Monday being suppos'd to be the birthday of the sovereign of the white rose, in respect to the anniversary, an honest Whig went from the Roebuck to St. James's, with a jack-daw finely drest in white roses, and set on a warming-pan bedeckt with the same sweet-scented commodity, which caused abundance of laughter all the way, to the great mortification of the knights companions of that order, and all the other Jacks, to see their sovereign so maltreated in the person of his representative."

The feelings evinced in these few examples tainted and embittered every class of society, and were also attended by a general laxity of morals, and, compared with the present day, (or even with almost any other period,) an insecurity of property. Robbery was carried on on a fearful scale in the streets of London, even by daylight; house-breaking was of frequent occurrence by night; and every road leading to the metropolis was beset by bands of reckless highwaymen, who carried their depredations into the very heart of the town. Respectable women could not venture in the streets alone after nightfall, even in the city, without risk of being grossly outraged. In the beginning of 1720, we learn from the papers that ladies of condition, when they went out in their chairs at night at the Court end of the town, were often attended by servants with loaded blunderbusses "to shoot at the rogues." The best notion of the state of security of London at this time will be given by a chronicle of acts of robbery with violence, taken from the newspapers during three weeks at the end of January and beginning of February, 1720; premising, that it appears, from several circumstances, that the newspapers of that time give a very imperfect and incomplete report of such occurrences. We begin with—

Wednesday, January 20, on the night of which day five highwaymen robbed a man coming to London, near Stratford.

Thursday, 21.—About five o'clock in the evening, the stage-coach from London to Hampstead was attacked and robbed by highwaymen at the foot of the hill, and one of the passengers severely beaten for attempting to hide his money.

Friday, 22.—Either on this, or on one of the two preceding days, it is not very clearly specified, three highwaymen attacked a gentleman of the Prince's household in his coach near Poland Street, and obliged the watchman to throw away his lanthorn and stand quietly by, while they abused and robbed him. Other highwaymen attacked Colonel Montague as he was passing along Frith Street, Soho, between twelve and one at night, and fired at his coachman and wounded one of his horses because he refused to stand. The Duchess of Montrose, coming from Court in her chair, was stopped by three highwaymen well mounted between Bond Street and the New Building.

Saturday, 23.—A man was attacked at night by highwaymen in Chiswell Street. The same night a house near Bishopsgate was broken into, and a man murdered.

Sunday, 24.—At eight o'clock in the evening two highwaymen attacked a gentleman in a coach on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard, and robbed him.

Monday, 25.—As the Duke of Chandos was coming into town at night from his house at Canons, he was attacked by five highwaymen, but his servants were too strong for them. They had already committed several robberies on the road.

Tuesday, 26.—The Chichester mail, going from London about three o'clock in the morning, was attacked by highwaymen in Battersea Bottom, and robbed of its letter-bags.

Wednesday, 27.—The Bristol mail was robbed on its way to London, and a considerable sum of money taken in bank bills inclosed in the letters. The same night an extensive robbery was perpetrated at Acton, and a booty of about two thousand pounds taken.

On one day of this week a lady was stopped in her chaise near "Barclet" Street by highwaymen, and robbed of her money, jewels, and gold watch.

Saturday, 30.—A house in Bishopsgate Street was broken into.

Sunday, 31.—A gentleman was robbed and murdered in Bishopsgate Street.

Monday, February 1.—The Duke of Chandos, coming from Canons, had another encounter with highwaymen, whom he captured.

Tuesday, 2.—The post-boy was attacked by three highwaymen in Tyburn road, but the Duke of Chandos happening to pass that way, came to his rescue.

Wednesday, 3.—The stage-coach going in the evening from London to Stoke Newington, was robbed by highwaymen near the Palatine Houses.

On one day of this week "all the stage-coaches coming from Surrey to London were robbed by highwaymen." And in the course of the week a gentleman in his coach was robbed near Chelsea; another was attacked and robbed at twelve o'clock at night at the upper end of Cheapside; a gang of highwaymen by open day robbed all passengers on the Croydon road for some hours together; and several robberies were committed on the Epping road.

Tuesday, 9.—A member of Parliament, with two ladies, returning in a coach from a party near Smithfield at eleven o'clock at night, was dogged by three highwaymen mounted and three on foot till they came to Denmark Street, St. Giles's, where their coach was stopped, and they were rifled of money and jewels to the value of about two hundred and fifty pounds. The robbers drove away the watch, and fired two pistols to frighten the ladies when they screamed for help.

Wednesday, 10.—A man was beaten and robbed in White Conduit Fields at four o'clock in the afternoon. At night a gentleman was attacked in St. George's Fields, robbed, and beat so severely that his life was despaired of. Three gentlemen in a hackney-coach were attacked in Denmark Street, St. Giles's, and robbed of everything but their clothes. A man was robbed in Cheapside of his coat and money.

This alarming increase of highwaymen about London struck every class of society with terror, for none were secure except those few who could go about strongly guarded. A poor man was stripped of his pence equally with a rich man of his gold. In one instance, close to London, after having robbed a labourer of one shilling and four-pence, the highwayman broke his arm with a pistol shot, as a warning of what he might expect if he ventured to go again abroad at night with so little money in his pocket. On the 23rd of January, a proclamation came out, offering a reward of a hundred pounds, in addition to the previous inducements, for the capture of any highwayman within five miles of London; the main effect of which was to place considerable sums of money in the pockets of the notorious Jonathan Wild, who secured several offenders in and about the metropolis within the space of two or three weeks. Of these, it was observed that several, on examination, proved to be persons moving in their class of society as honest and respectable men; among them are mentioned a tradesman of good repute in London, the valet of "a great duke," and the keeper of a boxing-school.

The affair in Salisbury Court, mentioned in our last chapter, damped considerably the spirits of the mob, although, for a time, the war between the gentlemen of the Roebuck and the "Jacks" continued to be carried on upon a less extensive scale. The Tories began to complain, and with some reason, that the mug-houses were themselves the chief provocations to these nightly tumults. It appears that in the beginning of November, 1717, the society of the Roebuck had fought with the butchers, who composed the most active part of the mobs of this period. On the 16th of November, the Whig *Weekly Journal* has the following paragraph:—"Whereas the author of the *St. James's Weekly Journal* has most grossly scandalized the gentlemen of the Roebuck Society in his paper of last Saturday; this is to satisfie the world, that, before the aforesaid loyal body beat the butchers of Newgate Market to their hearts' content, they assaulted them first for expressing their joy for the birth of the young Prince, on the 2nd of November last, as will be prov'd by affidavits that are now making in order to punish the ringleaders of all Jacobite mobs." It is evident, however, that the proceedings of the mughouse societies began to be discountenanced by the less violent Whigs; and nothing could be more calculated to keep up the ill-feelings which were tearing society to pieces, than the satirical processions that were paraded through London streets on every occasion that offered itself. Several of these processions were prepared on a very large scale in 1717 and 1718, but they were forbidden by the authorities, and the effigies were exhibited privately at the Roebuck, or were made public only in printed descriptions. The Tories called loudly for the suppression of the mug-houses themselves, and several pamphlets for and against them appeared in the earlier part of the year 1717.

In the mean time, High-Church and Low-Church continued to wage unremitting warfare with each other. An unusually violent controversy was raised in 1717, by two performances of Bishop Hoadly of Bangor, a discourse and a sermon preached before the King, in which he advocated tolerance and moderation towards those who differed in religious opinions, and condemned persecution. The convocation of the clergy, which, up to this period, had met at the same time as the Parliament, took up the matter with so much fury, that they were suddenly prorogued by the King, and have never since been called together. The animosity to which this dispute gave rise soon led to personal slander, in which Hoadly's chief opponents, Dr. Snape, master of Eton College, and the Bishop of Carlisle, made certainly an undignified appearance. Perhaps no one subject of dispute ever gave rise to so many controversial pamphlets as were published during 1717 and 1718 for and against Bishop Hoadly; it was made the burthen of ballads and epigrams, and was taken up by those who of all others were least able to understand the merits of the case—the street mob, who only distinguished a Dissenters' chapel from a church by the absence of the steeple. In the *Post-Boy* of the 6th of June, 1717, we find advertised, "The Inquisition: a farce; as it was acted at Child's Coffee House, and the King's Arms Tavern in St. Paul's Churchyard; wherein the controversy between the Bishop of Bangor and Dr. Snape is fairly stated and set in a true light. By Mr. Philips." In the midst of this controversy, which for nearly two years occupied the minds of all classes in society, the Non-Jurors, or those who avoided taking the oaths to the present dynasty, and who were the extreme of the High-Church party, were unusually active, and openly erected meeting-houses in different parts of London. The "farce" just mentioned was by no means a solitary instance of dragging the religious disputes on the stage. In the midst of the Hoadly dispute, Colley Cibber brought out the "Tartuffe" of Moliere, a little changed, in an English clothing, under the title of "The Non-Juror," in which the author acted with great effect the part of Dr. Wolf, a Non-Juror and concealed Papist, who by his unprincipled intrigues nearly effects the ruin of a rich and respectable family, and at last is discovered and given up to the punishment he merits. Read's *Weekly Journal* of December 7, 1717, informs us, that "Last night the comedy call'd the 'Non-Juror' was acted at his Majesty's theatre in Drury Lane, which very naturally displaying *the villany of that most wicked and abominable crew*, it gave great satisfaction to all the spectators." The "Non-Juror" had in fact great success; and the anger of the extreme High-Church party was increased by the circumstances that the prologue had been written by the poet-laureat, Nicholas Rowe, that the King and Prince both went to see the play, and were said to have applauded it heartily, and that the King not only gave his permission for the printed edition to be dedicated to himself, but rewarded the author with a gratuity of two hundred pounds. Even this was enough to raise a war of pamphlets, and a storm of newspaper scurrility fell upon poor Cibber. In a pamphlet entitled "The Theatre Royal turn'd into a mountebank's stage; in some remarks upon Mr. Cibber's quack-dramatical performance, called the 'Non-Juror,'" the writer (it professes to be written "by a Non-Juror") complains bitterly that the stage should be permitted to make a clergyman the subject of ridicule, while the clergy were forbidden to preach politics from the pulpit. Another anonymous writer gave to the world a farce entitled "The Juror," in which were revived the old worn-out charges of fanaticism and hypocrisy. Other pamphleteers took part with Cibber: one published "A Complete Key to the Play;" and another gave "Some Cursory Remarks" upon it, which conclude with the hope that the writer would live "to see it as common in every house as a Prayer Book or Duty of Man!"

All these disputes were, however, shortly to be forgotten in an extraordinary social convulsion of a totally different kind.

For several years, since the conclusion of the war, there had appeared a growing taste for money speculations, not only in England, but throughout other parts of Europe. This was first taken advantage of for state purposes in France, where the national finances had been thrown into so hopeless a state, that the government was on the eve of bankruptcy. A

Scottish gentleman of the name of Law, who had killed a man in a duel, in consequence of which he had retired to France, projected a company to have a monopoly of the trade to the country of the Mississippi in North America, on condition that they should undertake the payment of the state bills. The Regent established this company in 1717, and made Law principal director. The plan went on, without any extraordinary success, till 1719, when the French India and China Companies were incorporated with it; and then there was a sudden and immense rise in the value of the shares, or, as they were called, *actions*. Soon after the midsummer of 1719, Mr. Law and the Regent formed the project of extending the company very largely, and then the shares rose still more rapidly, till, in a short time, they reached twelve hundred per cent. It may be mentioned, as a proof of the wonderful confidence the French placed in Law at this time, that the mere report of his being seized with a slight indisposition caused a sudden fall in the funds. The French government now found itself relieved from all its pecuniary difficulties; the nobility and courtiers became immensely rich, and Paris was so full of money, that people scarcely knew how to employ it. Law was looked upon as the great European financier; and, at the beginning of February, he was admitted into the Privy Council, and was appointed Comptroller-General of the finances of France.

The success of this scheme in France provoked imitation in England, where a chartered trading company, called the South Sea Company, had been established in 1711. The English ministry, in conjunction with Sir John Blunt, one of the leading South

Sea directors, conceived the plan of making this company pay off the national debt, which had become burdensome by the long war, in the same manner that the Mississippi Company had just relieved the government of France from its embarrassments. Aislabie (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), Stanhope, and Sunderland were all equally sanguine of the result of this plan, and it was brought before the House of Commons in the month of February, 1720. It there met with considerable opposition, especially from Sir Robert Walpole, who was the most profound financier in the House, and was now out of the ministry; but the South Sea bill was eventually carried by considerable majorities, and received the royal assent on the 7th of April, 1720. The infatuation with which people entered upon this rash project is perfectly astonishing. In Paris, Law had already become embarrassed in his financial plans, and it was evident that the reign of the "paper king" was approaching to a close. The Tory papers in England had already begun to ridicule both the man and his projects. "If you are ambitious," says Mist's *Weekly Journal*, early in February, "you must put on a sword, kill a beau or two, get into Newgate, be condemned to be hanged, break prison, IF YOU CAN, —*remember that, by the way*—get over to some strange country, set up a Mississippi stock, bubble a nation, and you may soon be a great man." The same journal tells us, on the 20th of February, "Last week, at the masquerade in the Haymarket, appeared a fine lady in a very odd comical dress: she told the company that she came from Mississippi, and was going to be married to the South Sea." We shall see this disposition to caricature soon carried to a much greater extent. A few days after the act was passed, Walpole published a pamphlet, giving a strong warning of the mischiefs which were to be expected from the South Sea project; yet, before the month of April, the rage for dealing in South Sea shares had become so great, that the dealers had already become an object of ridicule on the stage. Among the advertisements in the newspapers of this month appear a play, entitled "The Stock-Jobbers; or, Humours of Change Alley;" and "Exchange Alley; or, the Stock-jobber turned Gentleman: a tragi-comical Farce." Within a few weeks South Sea stock rose to above a thousand per cent.

The town now presented an extraordinary appearance. Stock-jobbing seemed to be the sole business of all classes, and Whigs, and Tories, and Jacobites, High-Church, and Low-Church, and Dissenters, forgot their mutual animosity in the general infatuation. In spite of a proclamation, forbidding the formation of companies without legal authority, an immense number of stock-jobbing companies sprung up like mushrooms around the larger scheme. These soon became known by the popular title of *bubbles*, advertisements of which filled the newspapers during the months of June and July. Many of these were mere gambling, or, more properly speaking, swindling speculations; and there were instances in which a man took a room for the day, opened a subscription book in the morning, taking a very small deposit on the shares, and in the evening shut up both book and shop, decamping with a large sum of money. When a new company was announced, no one thought of inquiring if the project were a practical one or not: a company was even announced, and its shares bought, which was merely advertised as "for an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed." Square bits of card, with the impression in sealing-wax of the sign of the Globe Tavern, conveying to their possessors merely the permission to subscribe some time afterwards to a new sail-cloth company not yet formed, were actually sold in Exchange Alley, under the title of "Globe permits," for sixty guineas and upwards. The *Political State of Great Britain* gives a list of these bubbles in July, amounting to a hundred and four, among which are companies "for assurance of seamen's wages;" "for a wheel for perpetual motion;" "for improving gardens;" "for insuring and increasing children's fortunes;" "for making looking-glasses;" "for improving malt liquors;" "for breeding and providing for bastard children," (the first idea of the foundling hospital;) and "for insuring against thefts and robberies." Among other odd projects were companies "for planting of mulberry trees and breeding of silkworms in Chelsea Park;" "for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a larger breed of mules in England;" "for fattening of hogs." A clergyman proposed a company to discover the land of Ophir, and monopolise the gold and silver which that country was believed still to produce. It would be almost impossible here to carry the ridiculous beyond what was represented in matter of fact; but there were some burlesque lists, containing companies "for curing the gout," "for insuring marriages against divorce," and the like. Within two or three days after they were subscribed for, the shares in these different companies sold for amazing prices: those in the Water-Engine

Company, on which four pounds were paid, rose to fifty pounds; the stocking company's shares, for which two pounds ten shillings were paid, sold for thirty pounds; the shares in a company "for manuring of land," subscribed at two shillings and sixpence, sold for one pound ten shillings.

Among the previously existing companies which were dragged in among the bubbles of this year, was the York Buildings Company, which had purchased the site of York House in the Strand, to build works for the supplying of the West End with water from the Thames. It is a remarkable fact, and one that appears to be entirely forgotten, that, within two or three years of the date of which we are speaking, a veritable steam-engine was constructed here, which is thus described in the *Foreigner's Guide to London*, published in 1729:—"Here you see a high wooden tower and a water-engine of a new invention, that draws out of the Thames above three tons of water in one minute, by means of the steam arising from water boiling in a great copper, a continual fire being kept to that purpose; the steam being compressed and condensed, moves by its evaporation and strikes a counterpoise, which counterpoise striking another, at last moves a great beam, which by its motion of going up and down, draws the water from the river, which mounts through great iron pipes to the height of the tower, discharging itself there into a deep leaden cistern; and thence falling down through other large iron pipes, fills them that are laid along the streets, and so continuing to run through wooden pipes,* as far as Mary-bone fields, falls there into a large pond or reservoir, from whence the new buildings near Hanover Square, and many thousand houses, are supplied with water. This machine is certainly a great curiosity; and, though it be not so large as that of Marley in France, yet, considering its smallness in comparison with that, and the little charge it was built and is kept with, and the quantity of water it draws, its use and benefit is much beyond that."

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* Many of the wooden pipes here alluded to have been recently taken up in excavations in Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, and in some other places along the line here described.

All other trade but that of stock-jobbing was now neglected; Exchange Alley was crowded from morning till night with persons of both sexes; and society seemed for a moment turned upside-down. In the course of a few days, a multitude of individuals were raised from indigence to a profusion of wealth, which many of them expended in luxurious living and in reckless profligacy. In the park these upstart gentlemen mixed in their carriages with the aristocracy of the land; but they were singled out as objects of insult and derision by the rabble, and at first the "stock-jobbers'" carriages seldom appeared in the streets without being mobbed. A newspaper of the 9th of July says satirically, "We are informed that, since the late hurly-burly of stock-jobbing, there has appeared in London two hundred new coaches and chariots, besides as many more now on the stocks in the coachmakers' yards; above four thousand embroidered coats; about three thousand gold watches at the sides of their —— and their wives; some few private acts of charity; and about two thousand broken tradesmen." In the midst of these doings, about the 20th of July, news arrived in London, that, on the preceding Wednesday, the 17th, Law had been insulted by the populace of Paris, who were only hindered from destroying his house in the Rue Quinquenpoix by the timely arrival of the Swiss Guards; and that they had broken his coach, beaten his coachman, and obliged him to seek refuge in the Palais Royal. The great projector was now looked upon by the populace as the sole cause of the misery in which they found themselves involved, and he was obliged to give way so far to the general clamour as to resign his office of Comptroller of Finances. In November he was entirely deserted by the Regent; and, after securing his great fortune, retired into Italy.

In August the stock of the various London companies was calculated to exceed the value of five hundred millions. The first great shock was given by the jealousy of the South Sea Company, who procured writs of *scire facias* to be issued against some of the unauthorised bodies. The destruction of these exposed the fallacy of the whole, and recoiled almost immediately on the larger company itself. By the end of September, South Sea stock had sunk in value from 850 to 175; and thousands of families were reduced at one blow to absolute beggary; "some of whom," to quote the words of a writer who lived at the time, "after so long living in splendour, were not able to stand the shock of poverty and contempt, and died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world, and never returned."

In the month of August, even before the issuing of the writs of *scire facias*, people began to foresee the catastrophe, and some prudent men withdrew, after having realised great fortunes. Towards the end of August "the bubbles" were turned to ridicule in a multitude of songs and satirical pieces. In the first days of September appeared the celebrated South Sea ballad, which was sung about the streets of London for months together, and helped not a little to bring stock-jobbing into discredit.

A SOUTH SEA BALLAD; OR, MERRY REMARKS UPON EXCHANGE ALLEY BUBBLES.

To a new tune called "The Grand Elixir; or, the Philosopher's Stone discovered."

1.

"In London stands a famous pile,
And near that pile an alley,
Where merry crowds for riches toil,
And Wisdom stoops to Folly.
Here sad and joyful, high and low,
Court Fortune for her graces;
And as she smiles or frowns, they show
Their gestures and grimaces.

2.

"Here stars and garters do appear,
Among our lords the rabble;
To buy and sell, to see and hear,
The Jews and Gentiles squabble.
Here crafty courtiers are too wise
For those who trust to Fortune;
They see the cheat with clearer eyes,
Who peep behind the curtain.

3.

"Our greatest ladies hither come,
And ply in chariots daily;
Oft pawn their jewels for a sum
To venture in the Alley.
Young harlots, too, from Drury Lane,
Approach the 'Change in coaches,
To fool away the gold they gain
By their impure debauches.

4.

"Longheads may thrive by sober rules,
Because they think, and drink not;
But headlongs are our thriving fools,
Who only drink, and think not.

The lucky rogues, like spaniel dogs,
Leap into South Sea water,
And there they fish for golden frogs,
Not caring what comes a'ter.

5.

"'Tis said that alchemists of old
Could turn a brazen kettle,
Or leaden cistern, into gold,—
That noble tempting metal;
But if it here may be allow'd
To bring in great and small things,
Our cunning South Sea, like a god,
Turns nothing into all things!

6.

"What need have we of Indian wealth,
Or commerce with our neighbours?
Our constitution is in health,
And riches crown our labours.
Our South Sea ships have golden shrouds,
They bring us wealth, 'tis granted,
But lodge their treasure in the clouds,
To hide it till it's wanted.

7.

"O Britain, bless thy present state,
Thou only happy nation;
So oddly rich, so madly great,
Since bubbles came in fashion!
Successful rakes exert their pride,
And count their airy millions;
Whilst homely drabs in coaches ride,
Brought up to town on pillions.

8.

"Few men, who follow reason's rules,
Grow fat with South Sea diet;
Young rattles and unthinking fools
Are those that flourish by it.
Old musty jades, and pushing blades,
Who've least consideration,
Grow rich apace; whilst wiser heads
Are struck with admiration.

9.

"A race of men, who t' other day
Lay crush'd beneath disasters,
Are now by stock brought into play,
And made our lords and masters.
But should our South Sea Babel fall,
What numbers would be frowning!
The losers then must ease their gall
By hanging or by drowning.

10.

"Five hundred millions, notes and bonds,
Our stocks are worth in value;
But neither lie in goods or lands,
Or money, let me tell you.
Yet though our foreign trade is lost,
Of mighty wealth we vapour;
When all the riches that we boast
Consists in scraps of paper!"

From the month of October to the end of the year, songs, and squibs, and pamphlets of all descriptions, on the misfortunes occasioned by the explosion of the bubble system, became exceedingly numerous. Two dramatic pieces, "The broken Stock-Jobbers," a farce, "as lately acted by his Majesty's subjects in Exchange Alley," and "South-Sea; or, The Biter Bit," a farce, are advertised in the month of October. The general feeling against the directors was becoming so strong in the month of November, that we are told it had become a practice among the ladies, when in playing at cards they turned up a knave, to cry, "There 's a director for you!"

The period of the South Sea bubble is that in which political caricatures began to be common in England; for they had before been published at rare intervals, and partook so much of the character of emblems, that they are not always very easy to be understood. Read's *Weekly Journal* of November 1, 1718, gives a caricature against the Tories, engraved on wood, which is called "an hieroglyphic," so little was the real nature of a caricature then appreciated. Another fault under which these earlier caricatures labour is that of being extremely elaborate. The earliest English caricature on the South Sea Company is advertised in the *Post Boy* of June 21, 1720, under the title of "The Bubblers bubbled; or, The Devil take the Hindmost." It no doubt related to the great rush which was made to subscribe to the numerous companies afloat in that month. I have not met with a copy of it, but in the advertisement it is stated to be represented "by a *great number of figures*." In the advertisement of another caricature, on the 29th of February in this year, called "The World in Masquerade," it is set forth, as one of its great recommendations, that it was "represented in nigh eighty figures." In France and in Holland, (where the bubble-mania had thrown everything into the greatest confusion,) the number of caricatures published during the year 1720 was very considerable. In the latter country, a large number of these caricatures, as well as many satirical plays and songs, were collected together and published in a folio volume, which is still not uncommon, under the title, "Het groote Tafereel der Dwaasheid," (The great Picture of Folly.) The greater portion of these foreign caricatures relate to Law and his Mississippi scheme. In one of these, a number of persons of both sexes, and of all ages and conditions in society, are represented acting the part of Atlas, each supporting a globe on his shoulders. Law, the Atlas who supported the world of paper,—*l'Atlas actieux de papier*, as he is termed in the French description of the plate, — bears his globe but unsteadily, and is obliged to call in Hercules to his aid.

A MODERN ATLAS.

> "Roi Atlas, hé! pourquoi te fatiguer ainsi ?
> Permets qu'Hercule vienne, et te donne assistance,
> Et t'aide à soutenir ton charge d'importance.
> Quoi qu'on dit c'est papier ou du vent, aujourd'hui,
> Il n'y a en ce temps d'espèce si pésante ;
> Puis qu'en troc et trafic il pése plus que d'or."

So little point is there often in these caricatures, and so great appears to have been the call for them in Holland, that people seem to have looked up old engravings, designed originally for a totally different purpose, and, adding new inscriptions and new explanations, they were published as caricatures on the bubbles. These betray themselves sometimes by the costume. A large wood-cut which represents the meeting of a King and a nobleman in the court of a palace, attended by a crowd of courtiers in the costume of the days of Henry IV. or Louis XIII., is thus made to represent the crowding of the stock-jobbers to the Rue Quinquenpoix. In the same manner, a large plate, which seems originally to have been an allegorical representation of the battle between Carnival and Lent, (a rather popular subject at an earlier period,) is here given under the new title of "The Battle between the good-living Bubble-lords and approaching Poverty," (*Stryd tuszen de smullende Bubbel-Heeren en de aanstaande Armoede.*)

The best of these caricatures is a large engraving by Picart, which appears in the Dutch volume, with explanations in French and Dutch, and which was re-engraved with English descriptions and applications in London. It is a general satire on the madness which characterised the memorable year 1720. "Qui," says the inscription,—

> "Qui le croira? qui l'eût jamais pensé?
> Qu'en un siècle si sage un système insensé
> Fît du commerce un jeu de la Fortune?
> Et se jeu pernicieux,
> Ensorcelant jeunes et vieux,
> Remplît tous les esprits d'une yvresse commune."

Fortune is here driven in her car by Folly, the car being drawn by the personifications of the principal companies who began the pernicious trade of stock-jobbing, as the Mississippi, represented with a wooden leg; the South Sea, with a sore leg, and the other bound with a ligament; the Bank, treading under foot a serpent, &c. The agents of some of the larger companies are turning the wheels of the car, and are represented with foxes' tails, "to show their policy and cunning." The spokes of the wheels are inscribed with the names of different companies, which, as the car moves forward, are alternately up and down; while books of merchandise, crushed and torn beneath them, represent the destruction of trade and commerce. In the clouds the Devil appears making bubbles of soap, which mingle with the "actions" and other things (good and bad) that Fortune is distributing to the crowd. "Those," it is added, "that will give themselves the trouble of examining the print, may discover many things which are not here explained, in order that the curious may have the pleasure *of having something to guess at!*" In fact there are a number of different groups in the picture which are not described. On one side, one of the fox-tailed gentlemen is whispering into the ear of a simple buyer of actions, while a roguish lad is picking his pockets behind. Those who brought their money into Exchange Alley were exposed to every description of robbery. Near these, in the original print, a handsome young damsel is thrown by the sudden frown of Fortune into the longing arms of an old and ill-favoured but more fortunate worshipper of the capricious goddess.

DOUBLE ROBBERY.

> "Quand on est jeune et belle, et qu'on a le malheur
> D'avoir perdu son bien dans un jeu si funeste,
> Gare qu'un billet au porteur
> Ne fasse encore perdre le reste!"

We are well assured by the writers of the time, that the profligacy which followed this mad gambling was almost incredible. On the other side of the picture is a group occupied in buying and selling stock: the seller appears eager for the purchase-money, which

TRANSFER.

the buyer is counting out upon a block, while a Jew broker transacts the affair. The word "transfer" is inscribed on the block in the English print. The car of Fortune proceeds from a large coffee-house, over the door of which, in the original plate, we read the word "Quinquenpoix;" in place of which the English copy has "Jonathan's," which was the great place of resort in London for bubblers and bubbled. At the other extremity of the picture, the infatuated crowd is hurrying forward to fill the three places of its final destination,—the mad-house, the poor-house, and the hospital. The latter is called, in the English print, "The House of Fools;" but, in several particulars of this kind, as well as in artistical execution, the original engraving of Picart is much superior to the English copy. Folly is represented with the spacious hoop-petticoat, patches, and other extravagant fashions of the day,—a true female exquisite of the year 1720.

FOLLY, IN THE GARB OF 1720.

The *Post-Boy* of October 20, 1720, contains an advertisement of the publication "this day" of "a pack of bubble cards," each containing an engraving relating to one of the numerous companies formed or projected during the summer, and accompanied with an appropriate epigram, "the lines by the author of the 'South Sea Ballad' and the 'Tippling Philosopher.'" In the *Weekly Packet* and in Mist's *Weekly Journal* of December 10, "A new Pack of Stock-jobbing Cards" is announced as published that day, with lines by the same author. The price of each pack is stated to be two shillings and sixpence. The notion of political playing-cards was not altogether new: in the reign of Charles II. a pack of such cards had been published on the celebrated Popish Plot, which had caused almost as great an excitement throughout the country as the bubbles of the year 1720. A set of bubble cards had also been published in this latter year in Holland; but whether the Dutch took the hint from the English, or the English from the Dutch, it is not easy to determine.

Both these packs of South Sea cards are preserved in the collection of Mr. Burke. Each of the "bubble cards" contains an engraving representing the object of one of the numerous companies that grew up round the greater bubble of the South Sea scheme, with an epigram in four lines, which is frequently quaint and amusing. The ten of hearts has a ship freighting with timber, in allusion to the company for exporting timber from Germany, and the lines

> "You that are rich, and hasty to be poor,
> Buy timber export from the German shore;
> For gallowses, built up of foreign wood,
> If rightly us'd, may do 'Change Alley good."

The object of another company was the "curing tobacco for snuff;" and the card represents two negroes and their overseer passing the snuff through a sieve, whilst their eyes very unequivocally suffer from the dust:—

> "Here slaves for snuff are sifting Indian weed,
> Whilst their o'erseer does the riddle feed;
> The dust arising gives their eyes much trouble,
> To show their blindness that espouse the bubble."

The "stock-jobbing" cards are more decidedly caricatures than the others, and they deal more especially with the doings of the bubblers and their dupes, than with the bubbles themselves. On the three of clubs we see two stock-jobbers inventing political news, and resolving to proclaim the birth of a young, or rather two young Pretenders from the marriage of the old one with the Polish Princess Sobieski, as the news most likely to affect the value of the funds.

> "Two jobbers for the day invent a lie,
> And broach the same to low'r the stocks thereby.
> One says the Pole 's deliver'd; t' other swears
> She 's brought to bed of two pretending heirs."

The king of clubs gives a receipt against bankruptcy; a tradesman in distress receives counsel from his friend: "I 'd advise you to buy stock, and take it up in fourteen days; it may chance to rise, but if it falls you can but then go off." The tradesman takes the hint:—"'Tis true, one breaking will serve for all; but if I succeed, 'twill make me a man;" and it appears he is successful.

> "A bending tradesman, to retrieve his fortune,
> Buys stock to take it in a fortnight certain;
> It rises greatly by the time of taking,
> And thus the buyer saves himself from breaking."

The nine of hearts tells a different story:—

> "A merchant liv'd of late in reputation,
> But bilk'd by stock, like thousands in the nation,
> Goes to the Mint, his bad success bemoaning,
> To shun his ruin, saves himself by breaking."

In another card, three bubble directors advise with their lawyer: one says to his legal adviser, "Sir, if you can evade this act, you and I may ride in our coaches." "My advice," answers the lawyer, "is, get what money you can, give me some, and make off with the rest." The other two bubblers are consulting in a corner of the room on the most effectual way of securing the zeal of the lawyer in their cause: "Tell him he shall be a director," says the one. The verses on this card are not worth quoting. On the three of diamonds—

"A lady pawns her jewels by her maid,
And in declining stock presumes to trade;
Till in South Sea at length she drowns her coin,
And now in Bristol stones is glad to shine."

The greater number of the English caricatures on the follies of the year 1720 were published in the year following. The *London Journal*, April 22, 1721, announces, as "Just publish'd, six fine prints, representing the humours of the French, Dutch, and English bubblers and stock-jobbers; with variety of humours," &c. These probably included the two "Bubblers' Medleys;" and two equally well-known plates, entitled "The Bubbler's Mirrour," in one of which is represented a figure joyful for the rise of stock, and in the other a man in deep mourning lamenting its fall. Both of these latter prints are surrounded by lists of the bubbles, accompanied with the same epigrams which appear on the bubble cards. The English caricatures of this time are but poor imitations of the foreign ones; in fact, the taste for them seems to have been imported from abroad, and the South Sea disaster must be looked upon as the beginning of the rage for caricatures which appeared in this country a few years afterwards. It must not be forgotten, that Hogarth's first political caricature related to the bubbles of 1720, and was published in 1721.

The misery produced by these bubbles in the winter of 1720, both in England and on the Continent, can with difficulty be conceived. Yet, after the space of a century, the same folly reappeared in the mania of 1825, and some of the same bubbles were revived; but their effects at the latter period were small in comparison to those of 1720. A German medal in the collection of Mr. Haggard, struck probably towards the end of the year last mentioned, represents on one side the momentary prosperity of the stock-jobbers, and on the reverse the frightful catastrophe. Suicide by hanging and drowning, hasty flight, and despair, as here represented, were the share of hundreds. The clamour of the sufferers overcame all other appeals to the Government during the year 1721. A searching examination by a commitee of the House of Commons exposed to public view many iniquitous transactions; and the general dissatisfaction was increased by the belief that not only the ministers of the Crown, but more especially the King's mistresses and his greedy German followers, had received bribes in the first instance for procuring the passing of the South Sea bill, and had afterwards made great profits by stock-jobbing. The South Sea directors became objects of hatred and persecution,

THE END OF BUBBLING.

and their property was confiscated and themselves imprisoned. The ministry was broken up; and, at the beginning of April, remodelled under the guidance of Sir Robert Walpole, who, though accused of having profited largely by trading in stock himself, was the only man capable at this moment of bringing a remedy to the evil. Robert Knight, the treasurer of the South Sea Company, after undergoing a partial examination, fled (with the book which, it was believed, contained the greatest secrets of the late transactions) to France, and thence to Brabant, where he was arrested and confined in the castle of Antwerp. There he remained during the greater part of the year, for the States of Brabant refused to deliver him up to the English Government. It was commonly believed that the flight of the South Sea treasurer had been contrived by greater persons; that the attempts to bring him back to England were not made in earnest; and that his arrest in Brabant was a mere act of collusion, the whole being a *screen* to hide the conduct of great persons about Court, whom it was essential to keep from public view. This *screen*, and Knight's escape from England, began to be the subject of a variety of caricatures after the month of April, 1721. In one of these the fugitive is represented as taking refuge in the infernal regions, the fittest receptacle, as it was represented, for so detested an individual. In another, entitled "The Brabant Screen," Knight is figured in his travelling garb, receiving his despatches, which are given to him from behind the screen by the King's chief mistress, or left-hand wife, the Duchess of Kendal, who was said to have received enormous sums from the South Sea Company, and who chiefly was supposed to hinder Knight from being delivered to justice. On the other side of the screen, a paper lying on a table bears the words, "Patience, time, and money set everything to rights;" insinuating that Knight had been designedly sent out of the way until the public feeling could be appeased. Underneath the engraving are some verses, the spirit of which will be sufficiently shewn by the first half-dozen:—

KNIGHT'S DEPARTURE.

"In vain Great Britain sues for Knight's discharge,
In vain we hope to see that wretch at large;
If traitors here the villain there secure,
Our ills must all increase, our woes be sure.
Should he return, the *screen* would useless be,
And all men then the mystery would see."*

The wise measures of Walpole gradually alleviated the evils which the South Sea affair had inflicted on society, although they were felt heavily for some time; and the name of stock-jobber has never entirely thrown off the weight of popular odium which it contracted on this occasion. The effect upon politics was, however, much less than the opponents of King George's government hoped for and reckoned upon: but a new subject of agitation was now approaching, which helped in some measure to make people forget the former. The first Parliament of George I. would naturally have expired in 1717; but the ministers, who had already experienced on two memorable occasions the danger of general elections in a moment of excitement, and imagined that there was much then to be dreaded from the intrigues of the Jacobites, had obtained in 1716 an act of Parliament repealing the Triennial Act, and fixing the legal duration of a Parliament to seven years, and the bill was made to apply to the Parliament then in existence. By this alteration King George's first Parliament was to end with the year 1721; and the elections, to all appearance, would fall amid the still existing excitement of the misfortunes of the bubble explosion. We find, however that this subject of complaint was very little agitated in the elections which took place in the spring of 1722. The chief attack upon the Court party was made by exciting the old mob-prejudices against the Commonwealth and the Dissenters. The Tories accused the late Parliament of a design to constitute themselves another "Long" Parliament, published lists of those who voted for and against the repeal of the Triennial Act, and stigmatised the former by the old and unpopular title of the "Rump." Pamphlets on the misdeeds of the Rump Parliament were diligently spread abroad; and in some places the old custom of burning rumps was again practised by the mob, whose usual cry was "Up with the Church, and down with the Rump!"

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* The caricatures mentioned above, and one or two others on the same subject, are preserved in the collections of Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Burke. The print representing the entrance of Knight into the infernal regions was probably published later in the year, for a caricature entitled "Robin's Flight; or, the ghost of the late S. S. treasurer ferry'd into hell," is advertised as just published, in a newspaper of Sept. 23, 1721.

But Walpole brought now into action what would seem to have been a new system of electioneering, by which he gained a signal victory over his opponents, who still placed their dependence on the old plan of raising a popular excitement, which under other circumstances had proved so eminently successful in Queen Anne's time, and had embarrassed the Government even under the disadvantages to the Tories which accompanied the change of the reigning family. Long before the dissolution of the Parliament, the Government candidates declared themselves openly, and personally canvassed the electors; and no expedient was left untried to secure their votes. The Tory papers complain bitterly, that, on this occasion, noblemen and gentlemen condescended to solicit votes with an undignified familiarity. We cannot now be otherwise than amused at complaints like the following, published in a Tory paper, Applebee's *Original Weekly Journal* of January 6, 1722:—"Altho' we think the appointing general meetings of the gentlemen of counties, for making agreements for votes for the election of a new Parliament before the old Parliament is expir'd, is a most scandalous method and an evident token of corruption, yet we find it daily practic'd, and, which is worse, publickly own'd, particularly in the county of Surrey, where the very names of the candidates are publish'd, and the votes of the freeholders openly sollicited in the publick prints. The like is now doing, or preparing to be done, for Buckinghamshire; and we are told, likewise, that it is doing for other counties also." In fact, this deliberate preparing of votes was eminently calculated to counteract the sudden influence of popular agitation and mob excitement throughout the country;

and aware, by what had so recently passed, of the power of money at that time, Walpole is said to have practised on the present occasion a very extensive system of bribery.

When the Parliament was dissolved in March, a host of pamphlets were sent into the world, as had been done before on similar occasions, to influence the votes of electors; and the old system of getting up mobs was again resorted to. These mobs, in some instances, beat and kept away those who were on their way to vote for the opposite party: in some cases they carried them off, and locked them up till the election was over. In several places, especially at Coventry, fearful riots took place. In London there was much agitation; and, on this occasion, Westminster began those scenes of uproar which were afterwards so often repeated. But the influence of the mob diminished before Walpole's foresight and his gold, and in the new Parliament the Government obtained an overwhelming majority. The opposition was reduced to a state of weakness, in which it could only vent its spleen in political squibs and caricatures. In the midst of the elections, but when the result was no longer doubtful, on the 31st of March, an advertisement in the Tory *Post-Boy* announces as just published, price sixpence each, two prints, under the titles of "The Prevailing Candidate; or, the election carried by bribery and the D——l:" and "Britannia stript by a Villain; to which is added, the true phiz of a late member." The first of these only appears now to be known:* the right-hand side is occupied by a screen of seven folds, which are intended to represent the seven almost barren years of the late Parliament; while on the left appears the group here represented, which is explained by the verses underneath. This is the earliest caricature on elections with which I am acquainted.

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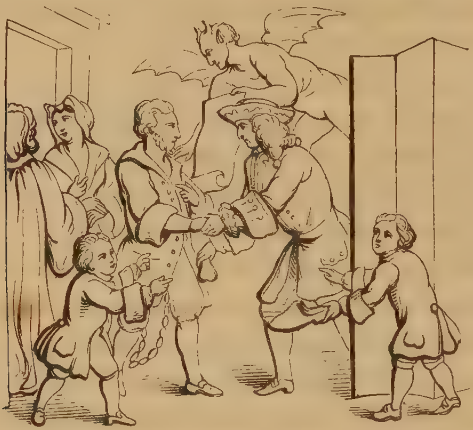
* This rare print, which is one of the best of the caricatures of the reign of George the First, is in the collection of Mr. Hawkins.



AN ELECTION EPISODE.

"Here's a minion sent down to a corporate town,
In hopes to be newly elected;
By his prodigal show, you may easily know
To the Court he is truly affected.

"He 'as a knave by the hand, who has power to command
All the votes in the corporation;
Shoves a sum in his pocket, the D——l cries 'Take it,
'Tis all for the good of the nation!'

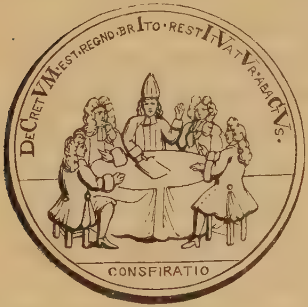
"The wife, standing by, looks a little awry
At the candidate's way of addressing;
But a priest stepping in avers bribery no sin,
Since money 's a family blessing.

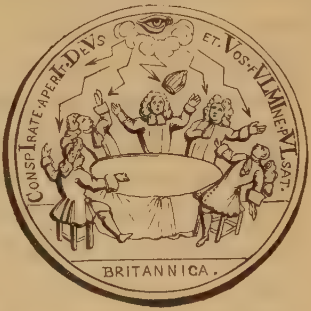
"Say the boys, 'Ye sad rogues, here are French wooden brogues,
To reward your vile treacherous knavery;
For such traitors as you are the rascally crew
That betray the whole kingdom to slavery.'"

The more violent Tories, in their despair, seem to have been thrown again upon dangerous undertakings. We have seen, that, even in the midst of the bubble mania, the movements of the Pretender were considered sufficient to affect the public funds; and the eyes of Englishmen were constantly fixed upon him in his retreat at Rome. The joy of the Jacobites was great, when they learnt, at the end of the year 1720, that his Polish wife had given birth to a son, a young Pretender, destined to be brought on the stage when the little energy ever possessed by his father was gone. They hoped much from the dissatisfaction and sufferings caused by the disasters of the South Sea scheme, and they had been signally disappointed in the result of the elections. The excitement of these had scarcely subsided, when the English Government received from France information of a formidable conspiracy at home against King George; and it was discovered that the Pretender had left Rome, and that the Duke of Ormond was on his way from Madrid to be prepared on the coast of Biscay for a descent on that of England. A camp was immediately formed in Hyde Park, to protect the King and the metropolis, from which latter all Papists, or reputed Papists, were warned to depart, by a royal proclamation issued on the 9th of May. At the same time we trace attempts to raise a new feeling among the mob in favour of the exiled family; and it is announced, in Read's *Weekly Journal* of May 26, that "The messenger of the press has caused fourteen persons to be sent to the House of Correction, for crying about the city scandalous and traiterous songs." In perilous undertakings like this, caricatures were circulated on medals, rather than in prints, and we have such a medal struck at this time, with a head of

the Pretender on the obverse, and the legend UNICA SALUS, and on the reverse, under the legend QUID GRAVIUS CAPTA, a distant view of London, with Britannia weeping in the foreground, and before her face the horse of Hanover trampling upon her lion and unicorn. The Jacobites pretended that the nation had been enslaved by the Court influence in the elections; and on the 20th of September, long after the English conspirators had been seized, the Pretender issued a mad declaration, which was printed and industriously distributed in England, in which he dwelt especially on the pretended violation of the freedom of voting. The declaration was ordered by the British Parliament, which was then assembled, to be burnt by the hands of the hangman.

A bishop was the principal conspirator in the Jacobite plot of 1722. Atterbury, of Rochester, was a minister of the Crown under the brief premiership of Bolingbroke in the few last days of the reign of Queen Anne; on whose death he alone had been bold enough to propose that they should proclaim the son, or reputed son, of James II. as her successor to the throne. He had been ever since noted for his disaffection to the Hanoverian government; and now he seems to have rashly embraced the hope that a few troops under the Duke of Ormond, landed on the southern coast, would be enough to overthrow it. At the end of May, several inferior, but active, conspirators, were taken into custody; they were, a non-juring clergyman named Kelly, an Irish Catholic priest of the name of Neynoe, Layer, (a young barrister of the Temple,) and another Irishman, (a Jesuit named Plunket.) Their examinations led to the arrest of Bishop Atterbury, who was committed a close prisoner to the Tower on the 24th of August. The High-Church party were furious at what they considered the sacrilege of imprisoning a bishop; and the Tories declared publicly that the whole plot was a fiction, that the Pretender had never quitted Rome, and that his party had no designs against King George's government. This was soon contradicted by the Pretender's own declaration; and documents which have of late years come to light destroy all doubts that might have been entertained of the guilt of Atterbury. In the beginning of 1723 Layer was brought to his trial, and was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, in order to raise a new rebellion: he was executed at Tyburn. The Tories still ridiculed the plot, and as late as the 16th of April, 1723, we learn from the *Daily Journal*, that "diligent search is making after the contrivers and dispersers of a seditious copy of verses burlesquing the discovery of the late wicked conspiracy, and the methods taken for punishing the conspirators." In May, however, Atterbury was brought to trial before the House of Lords; a bill of pains and penalties was passed, by which he was deprived of his bishopric, and banished the kingdom; and on the 18th of June he was put on board a King's ship and conveyed to France, where he at once entered the service of the Pretender. A medal was now struck to commemorate the defeat of the design, which the Pretender's medal above mentioned was intended to forward. On the obverse, the conspirators are represented as seated round a table in deep consultation, the Bishop presiding and delivering a paper to them. Above is a legend intimating the determination





to restore the exile to his lost crown—DECRETUM EST, REGNO BRITO RESTITUATUR ABACTUS—the numeral letters of which make the date 1722, as that in which the plot was carried on. On the reverse of the medal, the eye of Providence, never asleep, darts its lightnings among the conspirators, casting the Bishop's mitre from his head, and striking apparently with death another conspirator seated on the right, probably intended to represent the Templar, Layer. The inscription on this side is, CONSPIRATE APERIT DEUS [oculum], ET VOS FULMINE PULSAT, the numeral letters of which make the date 1723, the year in which the plotters were convicted and punished. At the foot of the medal, obverse and reverse, is the inscription CONSPIRATIO BRITANNICA.*

From this time the government of King George was relieved from most of its uneasiness. The ministers, strong in their parliamentary majorities, paid little heed to the clamours of the opposition; trade went on flourishing, and the Pretender was no longer in a position to give alarm. The greatest subjects of political agitation were an Irish squabble about half-pence, or a Scottish riot against taxes. Even before the elections, the London newspapers had found leisure to dispute about the murder of Julius Cæsar and the patriotism of Brutus; and for several years after the bitterness of party feeling appears to have cast itself chiefly into the ranks of literature and science.

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* This medal, as well as the Pretender's medal mentioned before, is in the collection of Mr. Haggard.

CHAPTER III.

GEORGE I. AND II.

LITERATURE DEBASED BY THE RAGE FOR POLITICS. — THE STAGE. — OPERAS, MASQUERADES, AND PANTOMIMES.—HEIDEGGER AND HIS SINGERS.—ORATOR HENLEY. — "THE BEGGAR'S OPERA." — "THE DUNCIAD." — CONTINUED POPULARITY OF THE OPERA. — POLITICAL USE OF THE STAGE. — ACT FOR LICENSING PLAYS. — ATTACKS UPON POPE. — NEW EDITION OF THE "DUNCIAD."

The agitation produced by the year of bubbles was followed by loud outcries against the alarming increase of immorality and profligacy, the debased character of the stage, and the low state of literature, all of which were made alternately the watchwords of political strife. A long-established opinion, perhaps not altogether just, has fixed upon the reign of Queen Anne as the Augustan age of English literature; but the few pure models of English composition which that age produced were scattered stars among a countless multitude of unworthy scribblers, whose fame was in subsequent times embodied in the name of Grubb Street, and who, from a variety of causes, were gradually driving the more classic writers out of the field. The first kings of the Hanoverian dynasty had no love for letters; and it happened that one or two of the most distinguished literary names belonged to the party in opposition to their government. Those only could live by their writings who would throw themselves into the troubled sea of party, or who would pander to the depraved taste of the mob of readers; or, in other words, who would be the slaves of the newspapers or of the booksellers. The party newspapers were increasing daily in scurrility as well as in number; but, instead of the wit and elegance of the *Spectators* and *Tatlers*, they were filled with calumny and defamation, or with wearisome tales of gallantry, varied only by occasional and not unfrequent patches of indecent ribaldry. It is clear, indeed, that the national taste had become as vulgar as the national manners, and as corrupt as the principles of a large majority of the public men of that period. The works which received the greatest encouragement were scandalous memoirs, secret history surreptitiously obtained and sent forth under fictitious names, (such as the books which came from the pens of Eliza Haywood, Mrs. Manley, and other equally shameless female writers, and from the press of Edmund Curll,) and ill-disguised obscenity.

A great number of the low political writers of the day were well paid with the Government money. The secret committee appointed to inquire into the sins of Walpole's administration, after he had retired from office, reported that no less than fifty thousand and seventy-seven pounds eighteen shillings were paid to authors and printers of newspapers in the course of ten years, between February 10, 1731, and February 10, 1741. Of this, it appears, by the report just quoted, that William Arnall, a very active political writer, received in the course of four years, "for *Free Britons* and writing," eleven thousand pounds out of the Treasury.

After the employment of writing for Government, the most profitable was that of writing for the stage. The drama was suffering perhaps more than any other class of literature by the debasement of public taste, although it had certainly been raised in moral character since the days of Charles II. Under his reign there had been two sets of actors, known as "the King's" and "the Duke's;" but, in 1690, these were united in one company, who, under one patent, had their house in Drury Lane. Internal dissension, however, soon led to disunion in the company; and the seceders, under Betterton, obtained from King William a licence to act independently, and a theatre was built for them in Lincoln's Inn Fields. There was, of course, a zealous rivalry between the two parties, which, in the opinion of Colley Cibber, led each to seek patronage by yielding to the taste of the mob, instead of being able to guide it; but, after the experience of another century, we have every reason to disagree in the opinion formed by Cibber on this tendency. In 1706 a new and "stately" theatre was provided in the Haymarket for the Lincoln's Inn company, built under the direction of Sir John Vanbrugh; and an attempt was made to effect a reunion between the two companies, but without effect. The Haymarket theatre, known under Anne as the Queen's, and under her successors as the King's theatre, was found not to answer well its original intention, and it was afterwards appropriated to the Italian Opera; for, as Cibber tells us, "not long before this time the Italian Opera began first to steal into England, but in as rude a disguise and unlike itself as possible; in a lame, hobbling translation into our own language, with false quantities, or metre out of measure to its original notes, sung by our own unskilful voices, with graces misapplied to almost every sentiment, and with action lifeless and unmeaning through every character."

After a number of vicissitudes, the licensed companies of actors remained in nearly the same position towards each other under George the First. "His Majesty's company of comedians," under the joint management of Booth, Cibber, and Wilks, held Drury Lane; the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields had been rebuilt for the opposition company under Rich; and the King's theatre in the Haymarket was devoted exclusively to the Italian Opera, under the management of the celebrated John James Heidegger.* Not long before the rise of the South Sea scheme, masquerades were introduced at the Opera House as a new attraction to popularity; and in a short time they became, under Heidegger's management, the rage of the town. Every one seemed to relish the momentary saturnalia in which all ranks and classes, in outward disguise at least, mixed together in indiscriminate confusion; where, to use the words of a contemporary writer,

"Fools, dukes, rakes, cardinals, fops, Indian queens,
Belles in tye-wigs, and lords in Harlequins,
Troops of right honourable porters come,
And garter'd small coal-merchants crowd the room;
Valets stuck o'er with coronets appear,
Lacqueys of state, and footmen with a star;
Sailors of quality with judges mix,
And chimney-sweepers drive their coach and six:

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* There was also a "new theatre over against the Opera," which, in the latter years of the reign of George I., was held by a party of French players; and an unlicensed company of English players acted in a theatre in Goodman's Fields.

Statesmen, so used at Court the mask to wear,
Now condescend again to use it here;
Idiots turn conjurers, and courtiers clowns,
And sultans drop their handkerchiefs to nuns."

The masquerade soon became more than a figurative leveller of society; for sharpers, and women of ill-repute, and others, gained admission, and the consequence was nightly scenes of robbery, and quarrels, and scandalous licentiousness. The general agreement of contemporary writers on this subject can leave no doubt on our minds of the evil effects of masquerades on the morality of the day. The South Sea convulsion had hardly subsided, when a general outcry was heard against the alarming increase of atheism, profaneness, and immorality, and an attempt was made to suppress them by act of Parliament, but the bill for that purpose was not allowed to pass. The dangerous effects of masquerades were particularly insisted upon; and they soon became the object of severe attacks in the newspapers, and in satirical as well as serious pamphlets. In spite, however, of all that could be done, these proscribed entertainments continued to flourish; and for successive years the most prominent advertisements in the daily papers were those announcing where masquerade dresses of every variety were to be lent for the night on reasonable terms. On Monday, January 6, 1726, the Bishop of London preached in Bow Church, Cheapside, before the Society for the Reformation of Manners, a sermon directed especially against masquerades, which made a considerable sensation, and so far drew the attention of Government to the subject, that it was followed by a royal proclamation against the favourite entertainments of the town, the only result of which was, that they were in future carried on under the Italian title of *ridottos*, or the English one of balls; and, in order to satisfy in some measure the scruples of the authorities, the public advertisements of each ball contained a paragraph stating that guards were stationed within and without to prevent "all disorders and indecencies." The Middlesex grand juries on several occasions presented these masquerades as public nuisances, and complained of the manner in which the King's orders had been evaded, but without any permanent effect. George the Second was warmly attached to masquerades, as well as to the Opera, and he not unfrequently honoured them with his presence, and showed great favour to Heidegger, whom, nevertheless, a grand jury in 1729, after describing the ill consequences of these Opera balls, presented, under his name, "as the principal promoter of vice and immorality, in defiance of the laws of this land, to the great scandal of religion, the disturbance of his Majesty's government, and the damage of many of his good subjects."

The attempts at a reformation of manners were the less effectual, because they were too often mixed up with political partizanship, and were not always distinguished by the prudence and judicious moderation which ensure success. The Whig *Flying Post*, in the August of 1725, contains an attack on the writings of the poet Prior, for their presumed immoral tendency, complaining that the names of an archbishop, several bishops, and numerous other dignitaries of the Church, had appeared as subscribers to the new edition of his works on large paper, and adducing, as a remarkable proof of the degeneracy of public manners, that, while Prior's writings were printed elegantly on the finest paper, any sort of print or paper was considered good enough for the editions of the Holy Scriptures! This pointed attack upon the poet, then recently dead, is best explained by the circumstance that he had been Harley's agent in the negotiations connected with the obnoxious peace of Utrecht, that he had been a prisoner of state at the beginning of King George's reign, and that up to the last he had been looked upon as a disaffected Tory. There was probably a satirical aim in a paragraph of the *London Journal* for February 11, 1724, which stated, that, "At the last *ridotto* or ball at the Opera House in the Haymarket, a daughter of his grace the Archbishop of Canterbury won the highest prize."*

The operas had flourished equally with the masquerades, and were looked upon with jealousy by those who advocated the dignity of the legitimate English stage. Singers and dancers from Italy, such as Cuzzoni, and Faustina, and Farinelli, obtained large sums of money, and returned to build themselves palaces at home, while first-rate actors at Drury Lane or Lincoln's Inn Fields experienced a difficulty in obtaining respectable audiences. The portraits of the former were engraved handsomely, and exhibited in every picture-shop. After a serious dispute between Cuzzoni and Faustina for precedence, in the summer of 1727, in which the latter appears to have been the victor, an obscure satirist of the day says—

> "Cuzzoni can no longer charm,
> Faustina now does all alarm;

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* It appears that gambling of various kinds, as well as lotteries, were permitted at the masquerades. These, with the intrigues of another description, not unfrequently led to quarrels, which ended sometimes in duels, with melancholy results.

And we must buy her pipe so clear
With hundreds twenty-five a year.
Either we 've money very plenty,
Or else our skulls are wond'rous empty."

The regular theatres were driven, in their own defence, to seek some new method of attracting the patronage which seemed to have been stolen from them by the Italian Opera, and they introduced that class of performances, also of foreign growth, which has since become so well known under the title of Pantomime. Cibber, in his autobiographical "Apology," laments the necessity which obliged them to give way to a taste so contrary to the interests of the drama, and his contemporaries in general bear witness that the Drury Lane company opposed the innovation as far as they could. It was Rich, with his Lincoln's Inn company, who first attempted to compete with the Opera by introducing singing and dancing, and English operas and English pantomimes, and what were designated in the play-bills as "grotesque entertainments." In the winter of 1723 this house produced "The Necromancer; or, Harlequin Dr. Faustus," which had an extraordinary run; and the next season they brought out a "Harlequin Jack Shepherd." The latter was of course founded upon the exploits of the notorious character, whose history was then fresh in every one's memory, for it was the year of his execution. A rival "Dr. Faustus" was brought out at Drury Lane, and, as it appears, with equal success. This was not the only instance in which the two theatres performed at the same time pantomimes under the same title; in February, 1726, they were both exhibiting a pantomime of Apollo and Daphne, and other similar instances might be pointed out. In these fantastic pieces, wild beasts, and dragons, and other strange personages made their appearance, such as had never before trodden upon the English stage; and the writers of the time tell us, with a scornful smile, that on one occasion a moveable windmill was introduced, and that it produced no small sensation among the astonished spectators. Nor did the innovations stop here, for in the winter of 1726 mountebanks, and tumblers, and rope-dancers were brought in as a novelty amongst the "grotesque entertainments" of the theatres.

The character of the stage, thus smothered under a complicated weight of operas, masquerades, pantomimes, and mountebank performances, became more and more an object of attack for the press; and the papers of the opposition took up the subject with the greater zeal, because the evil seemed to be encouraged by the patronage of the Court. The stage-managers themselves were not unfrequently made the objects of galling personalities, in pamphlets, as well as in the public newspapers. Caricatures exhibited to the eye in exaggerated drawing the shortness of Cuzzoni, the tall awkwardness of Farinelli, and the ugliness of Heidegger.* The manager of masquerades and operas, whom the King had appointed master of the revels, or, as he was termed by foreigners, *le surintendant des plaisirs de l'Angleterre*, sometimes made a joke of himself as being one of the ugliest men of his age, and it is not therefore to be wondered at if his deficiency in beauty was often a subject of ridicule to the satirist. Fielding, in a satirical poem of his younger days, "The Masquerade," thus passes a joke upon Heidegger's face, which is represented by other writers as having been often mistaken for a monstrous mask.

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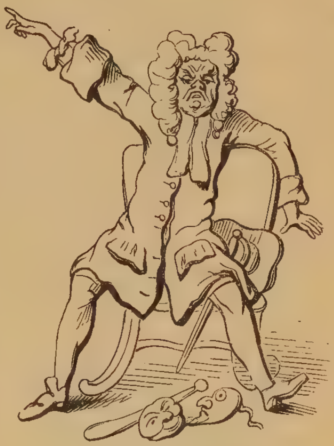
* The caricature represented on the next page is said to have been designed by the Countess of Burlington, and to have been etched by Goupy; at least, so we learn from a manuscript note on a copy in the possession of Mr. Burke.

CUZZONI, FARINELLI, AND HEIDEGGER.

> "'Hold, madam, pray what hideous figure
> Advances?' 'Sir, that 's Count H—d—g—r.'
> 'How could it come into his gizzard,
> T' invent so horrible a vizzard?'
> 'How could it, sir?' says she, 'I 'll tell ye:
> It came into his mother's belly;
> For you must know that horrid phiz is
> (*Puris naturalibus*) his visage.'
> 'Monstrous! that human nature can
> Have form'd so strange burlesque a man?'"

Heidegger, who was a native of Zurich, in Switzerland, and had come to England as a mere fortune-hunter, was much caressed by the Court and by the nobility, and was now gaining a large income, much of which he expended in charity. He lived profusely, and mixed with the highest society, where his oddness of character and appearance made him sometimes the subject of practical jokes. On one occasion the Duke of Montagu invited him to a tavern, where he was made drunk, and fell asleep. In that situation a mould of his face was taken, from which was made a mask, bearing the closest resemblance to the original, and the Duke provided a man of the same stature to appear in a similar dress, and thus to personate Heidegger, on the night of the next masquerade, when the King (who was apprised of the plot) was to be present. On his Majesty's entrance, Heidegger, as was usual, bade the music play "God save the King;" but no sooner was his back turned, than the impostor, assuming his voice and manner, ordered them to play "Charley over the water." On this Heidegger raged, stamped, and swore, and commanded them to re-commence the loyal tune of "God save the King." The instant he retired the impostor returned, and ordered them to resume the seditious air. The musicians thought their master was drunk, but durst not disobey. The house was now thrown into an uproar; "Shame! shame!" resounded from all parts; and some officers of the guards, who were in attendance upon the King, insisted upon kicking the musicians out, had not the Duke of Cumberland, who, as well as his father, was privy to the plot, restrained them. Heidegger now came forward and offered to discharge his band; when the impostor advanced, and cried in a plaintive tone, "Sire, the whole fault lies with that devil in my likeness." This was too much; poor Heidegger turned round, grew pale, but could not speak. The Duke of Montagu, seeing it take so serious a turn, ordered the fellow to unmask. Heidegger retired in great wrath, seated himself in an arm-chair, furiously commanded his attendants to extinguish the lights, and swore he would never again superintend the masquerade, unless the mask was defaced and the mould broken in his presence. A sketch by Hogarth has preserved and immortalised the face of Heidegger on this occasion, when it truly merited the description given in one of the satirical attacks on the manager of the Opera:



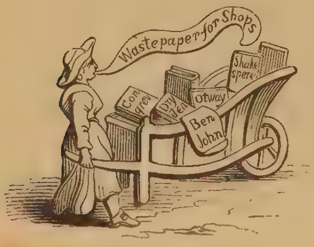
HEIDEGGER IN A RAGE.

> "With a hundred deep wrinkles impress'd on thy front,
> Like a map with a great many rivers upon 't."

It was the degeneracy of the stage at this period which brought forward the satirical talents of Hogarth, then a young man. In 1723, immediately after the appearance of the pantomime of "Dr. Faustus" at Lincoln's Inn Fields, he published his plate of "Masquerades and Operas," with the gate of Burlington House in the background, as a lampoon upon the bad taste of the age in every branch of art. On one side, Satan is represented as dragging a multitude of people through a gateway to the masquerade and opera, while Heidegger is looking down upon them from a window with an air of satisfaction. A large sign-board above has a representation of Cuzzoni on the stage, to whom the Earl of Peterborough is making an offer of eight thousand pounds. On the opposite side of the picture, a crowd rushes into a theatre to witness the pantomimes; and over this gateway appears the sign of Dr. Faustus, with a dragon and a windmill, explained by the lines under the picture—

"Long has the stage productive been
Of offspring it could brag on;
But never till this age was seen
A windmill and a dragon."

In the front of the picture a barrow-woman is seen wheeling away, as "waste paper for shops," a load of books, which appear by the inscription to be the dramatic works of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Dryden, Congreve, and Otway.



RUBBISH.

In 1725 Hogarth published another caricature, entitled "A just View of the British Stage," more especially levelled at the pantomimic performances of the theatres of Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, and suggesting a plan for combining in one piece "Dr. Faustus" and "Jack Shepherd," "with Scaramouch Jack Hall the chimney-sweeper's escape from Newgate through the privy." The three managers of Drury Lane are placed round a table in the centre of the picture. To the left Wilks, dangling the effigy of Punch, exclaims, in exultation at the expected superiority which this expedient is to give them over the rival theatre, "Poor Rich! faith, I pity thee!" Cibber, holding up Harlequin Jack Shepherd, invokes the Muses, who are painted somewhat grotesquely on the ceiling, "Assist ye sacred nine!" Booth, at the other end of the table, is letting the effigy of Hall down the passage by which he is said to have made his exit, and declaring his satisfaction at the new plan by a coarse exclamation. The ghost of Ben Jonson rises from a trap-door, and shows his contempt for the new-fangled contrivances of the stage in a manner that cannot be misunderstood.

THEATRICAL CONTRIVANCES.

In 1727 Hogarth published a large "Masquerade Ticket," bitterly satirical on the immoral tendency of masquerades, as well as on their manager, Heidegger.

The eagerness with which the public at this period ran after every new sight, and listened to every new opinion, was an object of frequent ridicule to the satirical writers of the day, and this probably made it the age of deistical writers, such as Mandeville and Woolston, Toland, Tindal, and Collins. There were others also, who, without being deists, ventured to broach fantastic notions, which had followers for a time. In the summer of 1726 appeared, what the *Political State* for that year describes as "a blazing star, that seemed portentous to the Established Church." John Henley, a native of Leicestershire, had graduated at Cambridge, but, filled as it would appear with overweening vanity and assurance, he defied the authority of the Established Church, and not only set up a new religious scheme, which he called Primitive Christianity, but, with a mere smattering of knowledge, undertook to teach and lecture upon all sciences, all languages, and, in fact, all subjects whatever, on which, to judge from all accounts, he must have talked a great deal of unintelligible rigmarole. On the 14th of May, 1726, Henley first advertised his scheme in the public newspapers, and on the 10th of July, having taken a licence from a magistrate to deliver public lectures, he established what he called his "Oratory," in a sort of wooden booth, built over the shambles in Newport Market, near Leicester Fields, which had formerly been used for a temporary meeting-house by a congregation of French refugees. Here, and in Lincoln's Inn Fields ("the corner near Clare-Market"), to which latter place he removed at the end of February, 1729, Henley continued to hold forth for some years, preaching on theological subjects on the Sunday, and on all other subjects on the Wednesday evening, to which sometimes he added a lecture on Monday and Friday. In spite of his locality among the butchers,—to whom at times he gave a lecture, which he called his "butchers' oration,"—the orator exhibited himself in an ostentatious manner, clad in the full robes of a priest, attended by his clerk or reader; and he employed a man to attend the door, whom he dignified with the name of his "ostiary," and who took a shilling a head for admission. On certain occasions he administered what he termed the "primitive eucharist," and he performed other religious ceremonies. The clergy were highly indignant at this man's proceedings, and he met with opposition from other sources: on the 18th of January, 1729, he was presented by a grand jury for profaning the character of a priest, by delivering indecent discourses in clerical robes, which was probably the cause of his removal to Lincoln's Inn Fields; but he braved all, until he gradually lost the popularity which for a while filled his Oratory with a numerous audience. This man continued his performances in Clare Market till after the middle of the century.

When we look over Henley's weekly advertisements in the newspapers, we cannot but give him credit for singular ingenuity in selecting subjects calculated to excite general curiosity, both in his theological discourses on the Sunday, and in his miscellaneous lectures on the other days of the week. As he proceeded, he took up exciting political questions, discussed very freely the character of the statesmen and the scholars of the day, made historical parallels, and became abusive, scurrilous, and licentious in his language, invoking the lowest passions rather than the reasoning faculties of his hearers. This course has been attempted in later times, but never with the extraordinary success which for a time attended the discourses of "orator Henley." In one advertisement it is announced that "The Wednesday's oration will be on Westward Hoe; or, a frolick on the water,—*fire*-new:" in another, "The Wednesday's subject will be 'Over the hills, and far away; or, Prince Eugene's march.'" On one occasion he states merely that the subject will be "Something alive;" on another it is "A merry-thought;" and, among the incredible variety of subjects which composed his long list, it will be quite enough to mention the following, taken at random:—"The world toss'd at tennis; or, a lesson for a king;" "Whether man or woman be the finer creature;" "A-la-mode de France; or, the art of rising;" "The wedding lottery;" "A Platonic chat on Box-hill, *de osculis et virginibus;*" "The Cambridge jig; or, the humours of a commencement;" "The Doctors ogling the ladies through their spectacles;" "A wonder at Windsor; or, the dream of a dame of honour;" "Jack at a pinch; or, Sir Humphrey Haveatall;" "The triumphs of Tag, Rag, and Bobtail,—*spick-span new!*" The most common subjects were made seductive by some quaint and extraordinary title.

We are easily led to doubt the morality of a schemer like Henley, and the reports of his contemporaries seem to rank it rather low. Hogarth introduced him, according to common report, among the characters in his "Modern Midnight Conversation;" and the same satirical artist represented him

AN "ORATORY" BAPTISM.

in another picture performing the rites of baptism, but evidently more attentive to the beauty of the mother than to the operation he is performing on the infant. Another rough sketch by Hogarth represents in burlesque the interior of the Oratory during service. The orator's fame was, however, so great, that several engravings were made of him, representing him holding forth from his pulpit, enriched with velvet and gold.

The dispute between Cuzzoni and Faustina, already mentioned, combined with some other circumstances of disagreement, had thrown the Opera management into confusion; and, in the earlier months of the year 1728, the newspapers contain repeated complaints of the neglect into which the Italian Opera had fallen. It was at this moment that an event occurred, which, for a time, threw both Italian Opera and pantomime into the shade. In February, 1728, appeared at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields the celebrated "Beggar's Opera," by John Gay, with a tide of success never equalled by any other single piece. This success no doubt arose in a considerable measure from the attractive character of the music, and partly from its peculiar aptness to the moment at which it was published, when highway and street robberies had been increasing in an alarming degree, and the characters thus brought on the stage were those on whom people's attention was daily and painfully fixed. The "Beggar's Opera" became, in a few days, the universal talk of the town. Lavinia Fenton, formerly an obscure actress, to whom was given the part of Polly, became an object of general admiration, was celebrated in street-ballads, and her portrait exhibited in every shop, and within a short time she became Duchess of Bolton. The airs of the "Beggar's Opera" were adopted as the tunes of political ballads. The piece itself was even performed in a booth at Bartholomew Fair in the autumn following. It was also acted in various parts of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, an unusual thing for a new piece in those days; the favourite songs were printed upon fans for the ladies; houses, as we learn from the notes to the "Dunciad," were furnished with it in screens; and, as usual, it became the origin of a number of inferior imitations which appeared in different theatres, under the titles of "The Lover's Opera," "The Gypsies' Opera," "The Beggar's Wedding," &c.

There were others who cried against the "Beggar's Opera" as loudly as the town cried it up. Many said, with some reason, that its extraordinary success was a proof of a degraded national taste; others, with much less cause, represented it as an attack upon public morals, and as having a dangerous tendency; and, as it happened that, during the period which followed its representation, street-robberies in London were unusually frequent, they hesitated not to ascribe this circumstance to the influence of the "Beggar's Opera." Hogarth caricatured it in a print, representing the actors with the heads of animals, and Apollo and the Muses fast asleep under the stage. In another caricature Parnassus was turned into a bear-garden; Pegasus was drawing a dust-cart, and the Muses were employed in sifting cinders.

> "Parnassus now like a bear-garden appears,
> And Apollo there plays on his crowd to the bears:
> Poor Pegasus draws an old dust-cart along,
> And the Muses sift cinders, and hum an old song.
> With a fa, la, &c."

Among other prints, a medley was published in the style of those on the South Sea scheme, with the title, "The Stage Medley; representing the polite taste of the town, and the matchless merits of poet G——, Polly Peachum, and Captain Macheath." Other prints, of a similar tendency, were distributed about the town. At least one clergyman preached against it from the pulpit; and, even in the latter part of the century, Ireland, Hogarth's editor, repeats traditionary stories, that, after its appearance, young practisers in highway-robbery were not unfrequently caught with the "Beggar's Opera" in their pocket. But there was also a political feeling on the subject, for the Lincoln's Inn theatre had the Tory partialities on its side; and Gay, slighted by the Whigs, had given dissatisfaction to the Court, and was looked upon as the friend of Pope, Swift, and Bolingbroke. The "Beggar's Opera" itself contained some satirical reflections on the Court; and the Tory press alone ventured to speak in its favour. Mist's *Journal* of the 2nd of March, 1728, observes, "Certain people, of an envious disposition, attribute the frequency of the late robberies to the success of the 'Beggar's Opera,' and the pleasure the town takes in the character of Captain Macheath; but others, less concern'd in that affair, and more for the publick, account for them by the general poverty and corruption of the times, and the prevalency of *some powerful examples*."

For these or some other reasons the Court openly discountenanced the "Beggar's Opera;" and, when its author had composed for the following season a second part, under the title of "Polly," it was not allowed to be acted. The Duchess of Queensbury, who had advocated Gay's cause with the King and the royal family, was forbidden to appear at Court. But the town took vengeance for their disappointment upon a rival, though, as it would appear, an unoffending writer. Colley Cibber had just completed a piece, also in imitation of the "Beggar's Opera," entitled "Love in a Riddle," which he was preparing to bring out at Drury Lane. A report was industriously spread abroad that Cibber had obtained the prohibition against Gay's "Polly," in order that he might monopolise the stage to himself; and, on the day of Cibber's representation, a powerful cabal obtained possession of the theatre, and compelled him to withdraw his performance. Gay published his "Polly" soon after, with some prefatory remarks, in which he protested against the injustice with which it had been treated.

By Pope and others Gay was looked upon only as a new instance of the sacrifice of literary genius to party feelings, and the treatment he experienced, perhaps, led in some measure to the appearance of a much more remarkable literary production, which agitated the world of letters for several years. Pope, and his friend Swift, equally bitter in their sentiments, and who both at this period of Whig supremacy lay under a kind of proscription, had, within a few months, taken an effective revenge by the publication of several violent satires against the degeneracy of their age. In 1727 Swift published the "Travels of Gulliver;" in which he went on ridiculing statesmen, and scholars, and men of the world, and every other class of society, until he ended in one universal libel upon the whole human race. In the same year Pope gave to the world his "Treatise on the Bathos; or, the Art of sinking in Poetry," under the name of Martinus Scriblerus. These works and their authors were attacked with almost every kind of weapon that the anger of the multitude of inferior writers of the press could supply. Pope especially, whose splenetic and sensitive temper had severed most of his literary friendships, was subjected to every kind of annoyance, and was driven to the highest degree of exasperation, for the judicious but cutting satire of his remarks touched to the quick almost every poetical scribbler of the day. The newspapers were filled with attacks upon his writings, and with jests upon his character, his religion (he had been educated a Roman Catholic), his politics (he was the friend of Atterbury and Bolingbroke), and even upon his personal deformity. Ambrose Phillips, known chiefly by his Pastorals, is said to have proceeded so far as to hang a rod up in Button's Coffee-house, with which he threatened to chastise the poet of Twickenham the first time he made his appearance there. These attacks were often galling, especially when they came from a class of persons for whom the poet professed extreme contempt; and it was under the irritation they caused that Pope formed the plan of one general satire, in which he might give vent to all his resentments, just or unjust; and which soon afterwards gave birth to the "Dunciad," perhaps the most perfect and finished of his writings. The wholesale nature of the attack is only justified by our knowledge of the degraded state of our national literature at the time he wrote.

In this remarkable poem, which was dedicated to Swift, Pope celebrates the wide-extending empire of Dulness, and describes the goddess as holding her court in the neighbourhood of Moorfields, which then rivalled in celebrity the literary precincts of Grub-Street.

> " Where wave the tatter'd ensigns of Rag-fair,
> A yawning ruin hangs and nods in air;
> Keen, hollow winds howl thro' the bleak recess,
> Emblem of music caus'd by emptiness.
> Here, in one bed, two shiv'ring sisters lie,
> The cave of Poverty and Poetry.
> This the great Mother, dearer held than all
> The clubs of Quidnunc's, or her own Guildhall.
> Here stood her opium, here she nurs'd her owls,
> And destin'd here the imperial seat of fools.
> Hence springs each weekly muse, the living boast
> Of Curll's chaste press, and Lintot's rubric post:
> Hence hymning Tyburn's elegiac lay;
> Hence the soft sing-song on Cecilia's day,
> Sepulchral lies, our holy walls to grace,
> And new-year odes, and all the Grub-street race.
> 'Twas here in clouded majesty she shone;
> Four guardian virtues, round, support her throne;
> Fierce champion Fortitude, that knows no fears
> Of hisses, blows, or want, or loss of ears;
> Calm Temperance, whose blessings those partake
> Who hunger and who thirst for scribbling sake;
> Prudence, whose glass presents th' approaching jail;
> Poetic Justice, with her lifted scale,
> Where, in nice balance, truth with gold she weighs,
> And solid pudding against empty praise."

The scene is laid at the moment when the poet Settle, the King of Dulness, was dying, and the goddess is introduced deliberating on the choice of a successor.

Lewis Theobald, or, as he was popularly called, Tibbald, was then an active writer for the stage, but is now chiefly known by his edition of Shakespeare. Pope, also, had been induced, for what was then a handsome remuneration, to place his name to an edition of Shakespeare; and Theobald, who was far better versed in the literary antiquities necessary to explain and illustrate the text of the great dramatist, pointed out the defects of Pope's edition and the errors of his notes in a number of articles in the weekly papers. Nettled beyond measure at these attacks, for the notes to Shakespeare were a sore place in the poet's reputation, Pope determined to make Theobald the hero of his poem, and him the goddess chooses as the successor to the throne of Dulness, after casting her eyes in vain on Eusden (who then held the place of poet-laureat), "slow" Phillips, and "mad" Dennis.

> "In each she marks her image full express'd,
> But chief in Tibbald's monster-breeding breast,
> Sees gods with demons in strange league engage,
> And earth, and heav'n, and hell her battles wage.
> She eyed the bard, where supperless he sate,
> And pined, unconscious of his rising fate:
> Studious he sate, with all his books around,
> Sinking from thought to thought, a vast profound!
> Plunged for his sense, but found no bottom there;
> Then writ, and flounder'd on in mere despair.
> He roll'd his eyes, that witness'd huge dismay,
> Where yet unpawn'd much learned lumber lay;
> Volumes, whose size the space exactly fill'd,
> Or which fond authors were so good to gild,
> Or where, by sculpture made for ever known,
> The page admires new beauties, not its own."

The description of Theobald's library, and of his sacrifice to Dulness, is an unjust satire on the class of reading which had enabled him to detect the errors of Pope's Shakespearian criticism.

The goddess suddenly reveals herself to the fortunate aspirant, transports him to her temple, and initiates him into her mysteries. She finally announces the death of Settle, and anoints and proclaims him her successor.

> "Know, Settle, cloy'd with custard and with praise,
> Is gather'd to the dull of ancient days,
> Safe where no critics damn, no duns molest."

The second book opens with Theobald's enthronement, in a position even more lofty than that occupied by the orator of Newport Market in his pulpit, or by the bookseller Curll, when he was condemned to the pillory for his licentious publications. Among a number of prints and caricatures relating to Henley, one in the collection of Mr. Hawkins represents him as a fox seated upon his tub, with the words "The Orator" beneath. A monkey peeps from within, with neck-bands, (acting as clerk,) and pointing to money in his hand, the object of the orator's worship: beneath him is written the word "Amen." Behind the orator is a curtain, on which Henley is pictured addressing a large audience, with the inscription INVENIAM AUT FACIAM, the vain-glorious motto which he placed on medals struck for distribution among his followers.

"HENLEY'S GILT-TUB."

> "High on a gorgeous seat, that far outshone
> Henley's gilt tub, or Fleckno's Irish throne,

Or that where on her Curlls the public pours
All-bounteous, fragrant grains, and golden show'rs,
Great Tibbald nods. The proud Parnassian sneer,
The conscious simper, and the jealous leer,
Mix in his look. All eyes direct their rays
On him, and crowds grow foolish as they gaze.
Not with more glee, by hands pontific crown'd,
With scarlet hats, wide waving, circled round,
Rome in her capitol saw Querno sit,
Throned on seven hills, the Antichrist of wit."

This division of the poem is entirely occupied with a description of the games celebrated by the goddess in honour of "Tibbald's" elevation to the throne. The first prizes are contended for by the booksellers, against whom Pope had proclaimed his hostility in the preface to his and Swift's "Miscellanies," printed in 1727. Curll had provoked him by the surreptitious publication of some of his letters; but what was Lintot's offence, who had been the publisher of his Homer, is not so clear. These games are described in a style of disgusting coarseness, too characteristic of the satirical writings and caricatures of the period, and which makes it impossible to reproduce them entire at the present day. When the various prizes of the booksellers have been disposed of, others are proposed to be contended for by the poets, in tickling, vociferating, and diving: "The first holds forth the arts and practices of dedicators, the second of disputants and fustian poets, the third of profound, dark, and dirty authors." The operation of diving takes place in the muddy waters of the Fleet Ditch, where it emptied itself into the Thames. The last exercise is reserved for the critics, who are to listen without sleeping to the dull nonsensical prose of the orator Henley, and to the everlasting rhymes of Blackmore.

> "Her critics there she summons, and proclaims
> A gentler exercise to close the games.
> 'Here, you! in whose grave heads or equal scales
> I weigh what author's heaviness prevails,—
> Which most conduce to soothe the soul in slumbers,
> My Henley's periods, or my Blackmore's numbers,—
> Attend the trial we propose to make:
> If there be man who o'er such works can wake,
> Sleep's all-subduing charms who dares defy,
> And boasts Ulysses' ear with Argus' eye—
> To him we grant our amplest powers to sit
> Judge of all present, past, and future wit,
> To cavil, censure, dictate, right or wrong,
> Full and eternal privilege of tongue."

This trial is too much for the critics, and the whole assembly is soon buried in profound slumber, in the midst of which the goddess transports the new king to her temple, whence he is carried in a vision to the Elysian shades, and there meets the ghost of his predecessor Settle, who takes him to the summit of a mountain, whence he is shewn the past history, the present state, and the future prospects of the empire of Dulness. In the present he beholds the different worshippers of Dulness in her various walks:—on the stage in Cibber; in the doggrel minstrelsy of Ward;—

> "From the strong fate of drams, if thou get free,
> Another Durfey, Ward, shall sing in thee.
> Thee shall each ale-house, thee each gill-house mourn,
> And answering gin-shops sourer sighs return."

in the more presuming writings of Haywood and Centlivre, of Ralph, Welsted, Dennis, and Gildon; in the party politics of Thomas Burnet, who wrote in a weekly paper called *Pasquin*, and was rewarded for his zeal with a consulship, and Ducket, who wrote the "Grumbler," and also received an appointment under Government;—

"Behold yon pair, in strict embraces join'd:
How like in manners, and how like in mind!
Famed for good-nature, Burnet, and for truth;
Ducket for pious passion to the youth.
Equal in wit, and equally polite,
Shall this a 'Pasquin,' that a 'Grumbler' write.
Like are their merits, like rewards they share,
That shines a consul, this commissioner;"—

in the peculiar style of antiquarianism of Thomas Hearne; and in the divinity of Henley, who, the phenomenon of his day, as an apt type of its intellectual character, is again brought forward in the full amplitude of his pretensions:—

"But where each science lifts its modern type,
History her pot, Divinity his pipe,
While proud Philosophy repines to show
(Dishonest sight!) his breeches rent below,
Imbrown'd with native bronze, lo! Henley stands,
Tuning his voice, and balancing his hands.
How fluent nonsense trickles from his tongue!
How sweet the periods, neither said nor sung!
Still break the benches, Henley, with thy strain,
While Kennet, Hare, and Gibson preach in vain.
O great restorer of the good old stage,
Preacher, at once, and zany of thy age!
O worthy thou of Egypt's wise abodes,
A decent priest where monkeys were the gods!
But fate with butchers placed thy priestly stall,
Meek modern faith to murder, hack, and maul;
And bade thee live, to crown Britannia's praise,
In Toland's, Tindal's, and in Woolstan's days."

From these spectacles the eye of the visionist is suddenly turned to the modern vagaries of the stage, on which dragons and other monsters were brought as actors, and heaven and hell were made the scenery:—

> "He look'd, and saw a sable sorcerer rise,
> Swift to whose hand a winged volume flies;
> All sudden, Gorgons hiss and dragons glare,
> And ten-horn'd fiends and giants rush'd to war.
> Hell rises, heaven descends, and dance on earth
> Gods, imps, and monsters, music, rage, and mirth;
> A fire, a jig, a battle, and a ball,
> Till one wide conflagration swallows all."

Greater wonders than these were now crowded into the theatres; and, to complete the absurdity, in one of the pantomimes Harlequin was hatched upon the stage out of a large egg:—

> "Thence a new world, to Nature's laws unknown,
> Breaks out refulgent, with a heav'n its own;
> Another Cynthia her new journey runs,
> And other planets circle other suns:
> The forests dance, the rivers upwards rise,
> Whales sport in woods, and dolphins in the skies;
> And, last, to give the whole creation grace,
> Lo! one vast egg produces human race!"

These were the creations of Rich, in his empire in Lincoln's Inn Fields:—

> "A matchless youth! his nod these worlds controls,
> Wings the red lightning, and the thunder rolls:
> Angel of Dulness, sent to scatter round
> Her magic charms o'er all unclassic ground.
> Yon stars, yon suns, he rears at pleasure higher,
> Illumes their light, and sets their flames on fire.
> Immortal Rich! how calm he sits at ease
> Mid snows of paper and fierce hail of peas;

> And proud his mistress' orders to perform,
> Rides in the whirlwind, and directs the storm."

He, too, has his rivals:—

> "But lo! to dark encounter in mid-air
> New wizards rise: here Booth, and Cibber there.
> Booth in his cloudy tabernacle shrined,
> On grinning dragons Cibber mounts the wind:
> Dire is the conflict, dismal is the din,
> Here shouts all Drury, there all Lincoln's Inn."

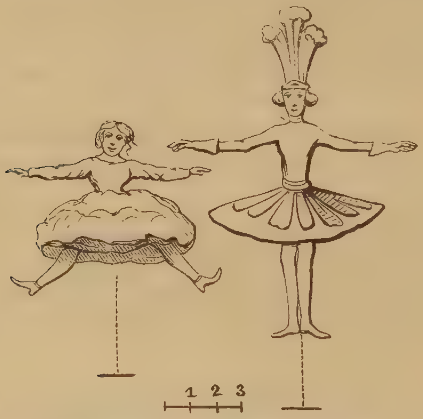
These are pronounced to be the advanced guards of the host of Dulness, who is proceeding surely,

> "Till, raised from booths to theatre, to court
> Her seat imperial Dulness shall transport:
> Already Opera prepares the way,
> The sure forerunner of her gentle sway."

The natural consequence of this general invasion of barbarism in public taste is, that talent is allowed to starve in the obscurity of neglect.

> "While Wren with sorrow to the grave descends;
> Gay dies unpension'd with a hundred friends;
> Hibernian politics, O Swift, thy fate;
> And Pope's whole years to comment and translate."

Upon the character of the stage Pope's verses had no more effect than Hogarth's prints; for masquerades continued to be the favourite amusements of the town till late in the century, and pantomimes and operas have never altogether lost their popularity. The letters of Horace Walpole bear frequent testimony to the attention which the opera excited in fashionable society: yet satirists of every class continued to attack it, and among others Hogarth, who, in 1742, shewed his inimitable skill, in giving the character of grotesque coarseness to what so large a portion of his contemporaries looked upon as attractive elegance, in a caricature entitled "The Charmers of the Age," representing the dancing attitudes of two popular *artistes* of the day, Monsieur Desnoyer and the Signora Barberina, who performed at Drury Lane. Underneath the plate Hogarth has added an observation, of which we hardly perceive the whole bearing: "The dotted lines show the rising heights."



THE CHARMERS OF THE AGE, IN 1742.

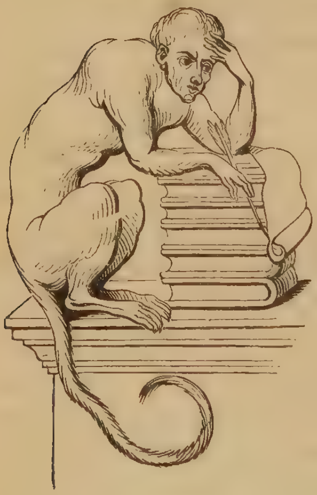
At the same time the stage became every day, until 1737, more and more a political agent. The pantomimes, by a harmless tendency to satirise the follies of the day, which they have preserved to the present time, had perhaps some influence in producing this state of things. In October, 1728, a farce called "The Craftsman; or, the Weekly Journalist," alluding to the scurrilous paper, so celebrated for its attacks on the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, was performed at the theatre in the Haymarket, "with several entertainments of singing and dancing." Farces, similar in character, appeared frequently during the following years.

In 1733 Rich and his company left Lincoln's Inn Fields to take possession of the new and handsome theatre which had been built for them in Covent Garden; on which occasion Hogarth published a print, representing Rich's triumphal entry into the new house, with a long train of actors, authors, scenery, &c. Rich, clad in the skin of a dog, one of the personages in the harlequinade of "Perseus and Andromeda," is seated with his mistress in a chariot drawn by satyrs, with Harlequin for his driver. Before them, Gay is carried into the new theatre on the shoulders of a porter. The diminutive figure of Pope is seen in one corner, treating the "Beggar's Opera" in the most contemptuous manner; from which we are probably justified in supposing that the poet, jealous (as was usual with him) of the extraordinary success of his old friend, had expressed an unfavourable opinion of his production.

The year 1737 was one more eventful in the history of the stage. In the preceding year, Fielding (who had begun writing for the stage in 1727 as a young man) brought out at the Haymarket Theatre a farce styled "Pasquin," which was a direct lampoon on the Government, and gave no little offence. It may be observed that this was "the new theatre in the Haymarket," which has been already mentioned as occupied, under George I., by a company of French actors. Other such pieces attacked different passing follies in a remarkable style. One, brought on the stage in the beginning of 1737, under the title of "The Worm-doctor, with Harlequin female Bonesetter," threw ridicule upon two remarkable quacks, Dr. Taylor and Mrs. Mapp, who were then practising upon the credulity of the public. Towards May, several farces were acted at the Haymarket, which were open pasquinades on the ministry, and which were universally spoken of as such. The most remarkable of these was a dramatical satire, in three acts, entitled the "Historical Register for the Year 1736," by Fielding, which had a great run during the month of April. Some say that Walpole was alarmed by the effects of this piece; but, according to Smollett, the manager of a play-house communicated to the minister a still more objectionable farce in manuscript, entitled "The Golden Rump," which was filled with treason and abuse upon the Government, and had been offered for exhibition on the stage. Which of these might be the real provocation is of little importance; Walpole brought the matter before the House of Commons, and descanted on the impudent sedition and immorality which had been of late propagated in theatrical pieces. The result was the passing of the act "for restraining the licentiousness of the stage;" by which it was ordered that no new play should in future be brought on the stage without an express licence, a bill which has remained in force to the present time, and under which was established the office of Licencer of Plays. A great but ineffectual clamour was raised against this bill, both within doors and without, particularly by the *Craftsman* and other opposition papers, who represented it as a violent attempt upon the liberty of the press.

Pope's satire upon the literature of his time was more effectual than that upon the stage; because, though the "Dunciad" was palpably a mere receptacle for all the poet's personal resentments, (which were not always just in themselves,) it contained more of absolute truth, and was therefore more generally felt. English literature soon afterwards began to rise from the low state to which it had fallen under George I. The "Dunciad" is stated to have been written in 1726; surreptitious editions, perhaps with the author's connivance, appeared at Dublin (and were reprinted almost immediately in London) during 1727: but it was not publicly owned by Pope till the next year, when he gave to the world an authorised and complete edition, with the notes, which conveyed more venom than the poem itself. The uproar among men of letters which this satire caused was almost beyond anything we can conceive. The attack was so general, that almost everybody was up in arms, and the newspapers brought, with provoking regularity, their weekly load of banter and insult. At first, Pope is said to have enjoyed the annoyance he had given to his enemies; but, in a short time, his sensitive feelings gained the mastery, and, as the attacks upon him became more galling, he experienced more and more the inconveniences usually attendant upon a satirical disposition. The poet must have been suffering under an extraordinary attack of sensitiveness, when he condescended to answer a pretended account of his being horsewhipped as he was walking in Ham Walks, near Twickenham, by an advertisement like the following, which appeared in the *Daily Post* of June 14, 1728:—"Whereas there has been a scandalous paper cried about the streets, under the title of 'A Popp upon Pope,' insinuating that I was whipped in Ham Walks on Thursday last, this is to give notice that I did not stir out of my house at Twickenham all that day; and the same is a malicious and ill-grounded report.—A. POPE."

Among the most determined of Pope's assailants at this time was the bookseller Curll, who was grossly attacked in the "Dunciad," and who had been the victim of the poet's practical resentment on a former occasion. From his shop issued, within two or three months, the "Popiad," the "Curliad," the "Female Dunciad," and several others, in which the private character of the poet was attacked as freely as his public doings. Pope's personal appearance, which was not prepossessing, was also made the subject of satire; and a quarto pamphlet, entitled "Pope Alexander's Supremacy and Infallibility examined," is prefaced by an engraving in which his portrait is placed on the shoulders of a monkey—the personality of the title of Poet Pug, which was sometimes given to him. A poem called the "Martiniad," in allusion to the assumed title of Martinus Scriblerus, under which Pope had ushered the "Treatise on Sinking in Poetry" into the world, gives the following description of his person:—



POET PUG.

"At Twickenham, chronicles remark,
There dwelt a little parish clerk,

A peevish wight, full fond of fame,
And Martin Scribbler was his name;
Meager and wan, and steeple crown'd,
His visage long, and shoulders round.
His crippled corpse two spindle pegs
Support, instead of human legs;
His shrivell'd skin, of dusky grain,—
A cricket's voice, and monkey's brain."

We may give the following from *Brice's Weekly Journal* of May 2, 1729, as an example of the epigrammatic squibs with which Pope was constantly assailed in the newspapers.

"*A Receipt against Pope-ish Poetry.*

"Select a wreath of wither'd bays,
And place it on the brow of P——;
Then, as reward for stolen lays,
His neck encircle with a rope.
When this is done, his look will show it,
Which he 's most like,—a thief or poet."

Pope seems, indeed, to have found few partisans, either among the writers or among the artists of his time. Hogarth has introduced him into several of his compositions. In his caricature of "The Man of Taste," published in 1732, Pope is introduced in all his diminutive deformity, in the character of a plasterer, bedaubing the gate of Burlington House with whitewash, while he is throwing, by his awkwardness, a shower of dirt on a coach below, which is understood to have been that of the Duke of Chandos. With his foot he is overturning a pail, and throwing a part of its contents on a man walking beneath, who is designated in the picture by the letter B, which is explained at the foot of the engraving as "anybody that comes in his way;" while the hero of the piece is described as "A. P—pe, a Plasterer, whitewashing and bespattering." The poet had indeed obtained the character of a bespatterer of everybody he met. A little before the appearance of Hogarth's caricature, he had, in his "Epistle on Taste," addressed to the Earl of Burlington, lauded that nobleman's taste in architecture and the other arts at the expense of that of his old patron, the Duke of Chandos, who had recently built himself a magnificent seat at Canons.

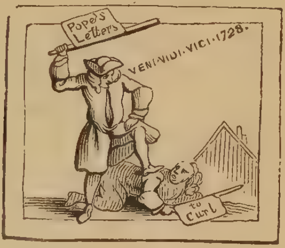
THE CLUMSY DAUBER.

The satirist was tormented by the number, rather than by the strength, of his assailants, very few of whom were for their talent worthy of his notice, and those who did possess talent were in general the least deserving of his attacks. In 1730, when the uproar occasioned by the "Dunciad" was still at its height, a ballad, entitled "The Beau Monde, or the Pleasures of St. James's," informs us,

> "There 's Pope has made the witlings mad,
> Who labour all they can
> To pull his reputation down,
> And maul the *little man*.

> But wit and he so close are link'd,
> In vain is all their pother;
> They never can demolish one,
> Without destroying t'other."

In Hogarth's engraving of "The Distressed Poet," a picture attached to the wall of the poet's room, in the first edition of the print, represents Pope triumphing over Curll. The contest between a poet of the rank of Pope, and a bookseller of the character of Curll, carried on in the way in which their quarrel had been conducted, had little of dignity; and Pope has been often blamed for giving undue importance to his victims, by the mode in which he treated them. But he was perhaps more to be blamed for allowing himself, after the lapse of some years, to republish the "Dunciad" in an altered form, for the purpose, as it would seem, of making an unjust, and not very provoked, attack on a man like Colley Cibber. Cibber's "Non-Juror" had never been forgotten by either of the political parties whom it concerned; he had been rewarded by the Court in 1730 with the place of poet-laureate, and incurred, on the other hand, during his life, the hatred of the Jacobites and the ill-will of the Tories. He is said to have offended Pope by passing a joke on the stage upon the ill-success of a dramatic piece by the poet, who never forgave him. In 1742 appeared a fourth book of the "Dunciad,"—which was already complete in three,—and this fourth book contained a new attack



POPE AND CURLL.

upon Cibber, who had been lampooned in the former part of the "Dunciad," and in other satirical writings by the same author. Cibber now at last winced, and published a violent pamphlet against Pope, who was so incensed that he immediately revised the whole "Dunciad," printed it anew, and substituted as its hero Cibber, in the place of his old enemy "Tibbald."

Pope appears now to have made an entirely new set of antagonists, and in the fourth book of the "Dunciad," the goddess of Dulness extends her empire over scholars, philosophers, and statesmen. The satirist lampoons, with a mixture of justice and injustice, the course of university education; the corrupting system (then so generally prevalent) of sending youths of family and rank to complete their education abroad, by making themselves proficient in all the vices and follies of continental society; and the pursuits at home of the naturalist, the philosopher, and the mathematician. The individual instances are again selected according to the poet's personal resentments, and it is enough to say, that, among objects of attack with whom we feel less sympathy, we meet with the names of Bentley, Mead, Clarke, and Wollaston. The only object of attack in the first "Dunciad," which reappears here, is the Opera, to which Pope's hostility remained unabated. The goddess, in the new book, holds a sort of levee, at which all classes of her worshippers attend. The legitimate theatre is present by means of force only, for Pope was one of those who believed that the licensing act was a death-blow to the stage.

"But held in ten-fold bonds the Muses lie,
Watch'd both by Envy's and by Flatt'ry's eye:
There to her heart sad Tragedy address'd
The dagger wont to pierce the tyrant's breast;

But sober History restrain'd her rage,
And promised vengeance on a barb'rous age.
There sunk Thalia, nerveless, cold, and dead,
Had not her sister Satire held her head."

While the new occupant of the stage enters pertly as a willing attendant, supported by that class of society who had learnt to admire her by an early acquaintance in foreign climes:—

"When, lo! a harlot form soft gliding by,
With mincing step, small voice, and languid eye;
Foreign her air, her robe's discordant pride
In patchwork flutt'ring, and her head aside:
By singing peers upheld on either hand,
She tripp'd and laugh'd, too pretty much to stand;
Cast on the prostrate Nine a scornful look,
And thus in quaint recitativo spoke."

CHAPTER IV.

GEORGE II.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE'S ADMINISTRATION. — PULTENEY, BOLINGBROKE, AND THE "PATRIOTS."—ACCESSION OF GEORGE II.—THE CONGRESS OF SOISSONS. —PROSECUTION OF THE "CRAFTSMAN."—THE EXCISE.—INCREASING ATTACKS UPON WALPOLE.—VIOLENCE IN THE ELECTIONS.—THE GIN ACT.—THE PRINCE OF WALES LEADS THE OPPOSITION. — FOREIGN POLICY: WALPOLE AND CARDINAL FLEURY. — RENEWED ATTACKS UPON WALPOLE, AND DIMINUTION OF THE MINISTERIAL MAJORITIES. — THE "MOTION," AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.—THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY.—WALPOLE IN THE MINORITY, AND CONSEQUENT RESIGNATION.—THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY.

THE misfortunes of the South Sea scheme had, as we have already seen, placed Walpole at the head of the ministry, upon which the Whigs, who had been divided since his retirement from office in 1717, became again united into one body, and with an overwhelming ministerial majority in Parliament, the hopes of the Tory and Jacobite opposition seemed to be reduced to the lowest ebb. Under Walpole's rule, with comparative tranquillity at home and peace abroad, the country was increasing rapidly in commercial prosperity, and consequently in riches and strength. It can hardly be doubted by anybody, that, to the firm and able government of Sir Robert Walpole, more than to any other cause, the house of Brunswick owed its permanent establishment in this country, while his pacific policy counteracted the evils that might otherwise have arisen from King George's continental partialities, which had been too much encouraged by the previous ministry. Yet it was Walpole's foreign policy, and his alleged subservience to France, which the opposition attacked with the greatest pertinacity, until they drove the veteran from his post, after he had held the reins of government during twenty-two years.

The bitterest and most galling attacks to which Walpole was subsequently exposed arose from a new division among the Whigs, the effects of personal pique and disappointed ambition. William Pulteney, the friend and constant adherent of Walpole for many years, and one of the most effective speakers in the House of Commons, disappointed because his promotion, as he thought, was not so rapid as his services merited, quarrelled with his old colleague in 1724, resigned his office of cofferer to the household, and placed himself at the head of a violent party of discontented Whigs, who now took the title of "the Patriots." In the meantime Walpole had been induced to act with leniency towards the exiled Lord Bolingbroke, who had deceived, betrayed, and quarrelled with the Pretender and the Jacobites, but had become enriched and, as was said, by a French marriage, by speculations in the Mississippi scheme and was now residing near Paris. A bill was passed in 1724, restoring him to his forfeited estates, though he was not allowed to recover his seat in the House of Lords, in spite of the intrigues of the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, whose interest he had secured by liberal bribes. Bolingbroke thus returned to England more enraged on account of what had been withheld from him, than grateful for what he had obtained, and he immediately made common cause with the Tory opposition, and year after year his talents and his skill in intriguing furnished the sharpest weapons, and contrived the most dangerous plots, against the administration.

Pulteney, with the ultra-Whigs, or "Patriots," joined the Tory opposition, whose leader in the House of Commons had hitherto been that staunch old Jacobite, Sir William Wyndham, and, in his personal resentment against Walpole, he formed a close alliance with Bolingbroke. By their means the country was again filled with seditious attacks upon the Government, in every variety of shape, and the mob was again raised into importance. In the December of 1726 Bolingbroke and Pulteney started a political paper under the title of the *Craftsman*, which was at first issued daily in single leaves, but in 1727 it was changed into a weekly newspaper, published under the title of the *Country Journal, or Craftsman*, and seems in that form to have had an extensive circulation. It was edited by Nicholas Amhurst, under the fictitious name of Caleb d'Anvers. Bolingbroke was, at the same time, pursuing his intrigues with the King's mistress, and it is impossible to say what might have been the result of her determined endeavours to overthrow Sir Robert Walpole, had not her power expired with the sudden death of George I. in the June of 1727.

Bolingbroke's faction was doomed, on this occasion, to undergo a succession of disappointments and consequent mortifications. When the hopes they had derived from the Duchess of Kendal were overthrown, they hastened to pay their court to the mistress of the new monarch; but George II. was governed more by his wife than by his mistress, and Queen Caroline was, to the end of her life, Walpole's firmest friend. They next placed their hopes in the elections; but in the Parliament chosen in 1727 the ministerial majority was greater than ever, and the Tories and Patriots were reduced to vent their harmless rage in new exclamations against bribery and corruption. One of the few caricatures of this period, but of which several copies are preserved, was entitled "Ready Money the prevailing Candidate; or, the humours of an election." The scene is laid in a country town, where a crowd of voters are receiving bribes in the most public manner. One allows the price of his vote to be deposited quietly in his coat pocket, while he is distinguishing himself by the loudness of his cries of "No bribery!" though he adds, in a diminished tone, "but pockets are free."

The voice of the opposition was now raised chiefly against the foreign policy of the ministry, who were accused of involving the country in continental quarrels, and of sacrificing the English interest abroad, to gratify the King's partiality for his Hanoverian dominions. With a perfect disregard for truth or honesty, (which appear indeed to have been in no great estimation with any party during this corrupt age,) and heedless of anything but personal interests and resentments, when the foreign measures of the Government took a bold and threatening character, the opposition cried out strenuously for peace; and when the ministers were bent upon securing peace, their opponents were equally clamorous for war. Peace was, however, established and preserved by the moderation and forbearance of the English and French courts, the councils of the latter being now ruled by Cardinal Fleury; and the threatening combinations which had clouded the foreign politics of the latter part of the reign of George I. were to a great measure dissipated in the Congress of Soissons, opened on the 10th of June, 1728.

Satisfied with the success of his policy abroad, the minister retired in the autumn, as usual, to seek a brief relaxation at his seat of Houghton Hall, in Norfolk, and indulge in his favourite pastime of hunting. But the *Craftsman* fell furiously on the proceedings at Soissons; and as winter and the consequent meeting of Parliament approached, ballads and papers were hawked about the streets, turning the foreign measures of the Court into ridicule, and holding up the minister as the dupe of French prejudices and partialities. In November, a squib in prose, with a fictitious imprint, was distributed abroad under the title of "The Norfolk Congress; or, a full and true account of the hunting, feasting, and merry-making: being singularly delightful, and likewise very instructive for the public." This was followed in December by a ballad version, under the title of "The Hunter hunted; or, entertainment upon entertainment. A new ballad." The minister and his adherents, according to this squib, repair to the country for the purpose of a great hunting match:—

"To Houghton Hall, some few days since,
All bonny, blithe, and gay,
With *menial* nobles, like a prince,
Sir Blue-String took his way.

"A mighty hunting was decreed
By this same noble crew;
The fox already doomed to bleed,
Already in their view."

The fox, we are to suppose, represents the wily court of Spain. Before the guests depart for the chase their host gives them a breakfast, which consists of all kinds of foreign dishes. Their hunting is not very successful, for they only set up a vixen, which they lost, for it was screened by an eagle, (Austria,) and they return disappointed to their dinner, where, instead of finding good English diet, they are again surprised with foreign dishes :—

"Westphalia bacon, many a slice;
Of English beef a chine:
Dutch pickled herrings, salted nice,
And truffles from the Seine.

"'Twas with great cost and charges made,
Yet none could eat a bit;
For 't would not easily, they said,
On English stomachs sit."

At the middle of the table sat the Cardinal. The taste of the host was singular :—

"The master of the house was seen
Plumb-pudding to devour,
And to regale with stomach keen
On *stock*-fish a good store."

Walpole was always looked upon as the great patron of the monied and funded interests. He is accused of having imbibed this taste for French dishes only recently :—

"At tables once he said and swore,
With manly resolution,
French kickshaws, bad as poison, tore
An English constitution.

"But now French sauces all go down,
And things *garreen'd* all pass;
So much a Frenchman he is grown,
So changed from what he was.

"*Corrupted tongues* he daily eats;
On these bestows his praises;
With these his bosom friends he treats,
With these his own bulk raises."

At the same time appeared another metrical effusion of a similar stamp, entitled "Quadrille to Perfection, as played at Soissons; or, the Norfolk Congress, pursu'd, versify'd, and enliven'd; by the Hon. W. P., Esq.:" in which the various European powers were introduced playing at cards, and uttering sentiments expressive of the motives and designs which the opposition attributed to them. These and other similar productions were well calculated to excite the feelings of the populace.

With the opening of the year 1729, the prospects of peace were threatened by new misunderstandings with the Spaniards; and then the opposition cried out that the Government was running the nation into a war; yet, when these threats ended only in the treaty of Seville, altogether advantageous to England, that treaty was attacked in *Craftsman* after *Craftsman*, and the ministers were held up to hatred and ridicule in pamphlets and ballads, as base betrayers of the interests of their country to the greediness of Spain. On the 13th of September the Pulteney and Bolingbroke writers issued a tract of twenty pages of ballad verse, entitled "The Craftsman's Business," in which they lampooned the ministerial party under the character of birds, and described Walpole as "a large macaw," party-coloured with red and blue.

As the interest of the foreign transactions died away, and occasions of attack on the Government measures became for a time less frequent, the satire of the opposition papers became more personal and more pointed; and in 1730 and 1731 the country was literally deluged with political ballads, in which the prime minister was introduced under such names as Sir Blue String, (alluding to his blue ribbon as knight of the Garter,) Sir Robert

Brass, Sir Robert Lynn, and still plainer Robin and Bob; and held forth as the betrayer and oppressor of his country, the selfish encourager of corruption in the nation,—one who fattened and grew rich upon the public money. Insinuations and rumours of all kinds relating to his domestic life, which were likely to render the minister unpopular with the unthinking part of the community, were industriously propagated. On the 7th of November, 1730, while he was enjoying the relaxation of his country-house, the *Craftsman* inserted a paragraph stating, that, "from Norfolk they write that Sir Robert Walpole keeps open house at Houghton; and that so numerous are his attendants and dependants, that it is thought his household expenses cannot be less than 1500*l.* a week."

The effect of all this was to raise much political excitement among the middle and lower classes. A caricature, entitled "The Politicians," belonging to this period, represents the politics of the day and the conduct of the Government as the engrossing subject of conversation among tradesmen and labourers of every kind, each complaining of some imaginary grievance felt especially by those of his own calling. This caricature furnishes a figure of one of a class of persons whom we have had frequent occasion to mention,—the women who hawked seditious papers and

THE POLITICAL BALLAD-SINGER.

political ballads about the streets. Among other personages, the proprietor of a newspaper addresses a Scotchman, (an intimation, probably, that his countrymen were among the most active of the mercenary writers for the press,) "Mr. Macdonald, will you undertake to write me a smart remonstrance against arbitrary power?"—and receives for answer from the wary northern, "By my saul, sir, I canna do it, for fear of offanding his lairdship; for ye ken he's a mon o' muckle authority."

Towards the end of the year last mentioned, as the annual period of the meeting of Parliament approached, the writings of the opposition became more violent and more provokingly personal. The pens of Bolingbroke and Pulteney were unusually active. Caricatures and satires were handed about more frequently than ever. On the 2nd of January, 1731, the *Craftsman* contained a political letter dated from the Hague, but generally understood to be written by Bolingbroke, which was calculated seriously to embarrass the foreign relations of the country. This was followed by an anonymous pamphlet controversy, begun by Pulteney, in such a libellous tone, that it led, on the 25th of January, to a duel between that gentleman and Lord Hervey, who was wrongly suspected of being the author of an attack upon Pulteney. "The duel" was the subject of caricatures and ballads, and of satirical pieces of other kinds; and Pulteney's party sent out a pamphlet under the title of "Iago display'd," which gave a pretended account of the causes of the older quarrel between Walpole and Pulteney, and a history of the duel, under the feigned names of Iago (Walpole), Cassio (Pulteney), and Roderigo (Hervey), little to the credit of the prime minister.

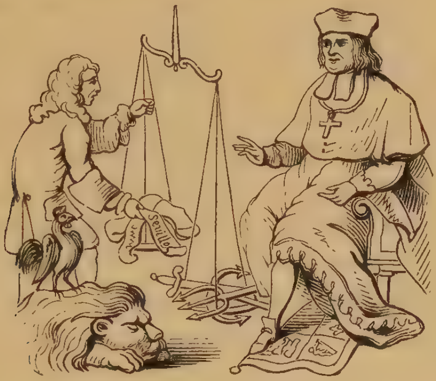
The *Craftsman* continued to pour on the ministry, and especially on their foreign policy, a continual volley of essays, and misrepresented statements, and verses, and epigrams. They were accused of playing a confused and unintelligible game, which could only turn to the advantage of foreign courts, and entailed upon England a wasteful expenditure of money in foreign subsidies and bribes, without procuring any advantage. It was, in reality, a system into which England was necessarily drawn by the uncertain and unprincipled policy of the different European powers during the greater part of the last century, and is not ill described in the following epigram, which appeared in the *Craftsman* of March 13, 1731:—

"Have you not seen, at country wake,
A crew of dancers merry-make?
They figure in and figure out,
Go back to back and turn about;
They set, take hands; they cross, change sides;
(Each movement a scrub minstrel guides;)
Around the measured labyrinth trace,
Till each regains his former place.
So certain potentates, (two couple,)
Leagued in alliance hight quadruple,
After a maze of treaties run,
Are e'en just where they first begun.
I wont affirm who led the dance,
(Yet, for the rhyme, suppose it France,)
But this I dare at least to say,
Old E——d must the piper pay."

These attacks in the press were accompanied by an unusually violent opposition in Parliament to King George's foreign policy, to his subsidies and the expense of supporting his Hanoverian troops, in all which Pulteney took a very prominent part. In the course of the spring the political essays which had appeared in the *Craftsman* since its commencement were collected together, and published in seven volumes, with as many engraved frontispieces, representing, in what were termed "hieroglyphics," the pretended wickedness of the premier's career, and his designs against the liberties of the people. These seven plates were immediately re-produced in the form of a broadside, with verses still more provoking than the prints, under the title, "Robin's Reign; or, seven 's the main: being an explanation of Caleb d'Anvers's seven Egyptian hieroglyphics, prefixed to the seven volumes of the *Craftsman*." The first of these plates represents John swearing obedience to Magna Charta. In a second, the prime minister is pictured as a harlequin, the minister of Satan, by whose counsel he tramples upon the liberty of the press.

"See here, good folks, a harlequin of state,
Trembling with guilt, and yet with pride elate.
To his great patron see the villain sue,
And mark the mischief hell and he can do.
Thus Satan speaks: 'Whole quires of w—ts [*warrants*] send,
And for your messenger lo! here a fiend!
By arts like these you must your foes controul,
Till Justice strike—and I receive your soul.'"

The third plate represents the art of printing as the great support of the liberties and prosperity of the nation. In the fourth, the courtiers are seen purchasing votes with money. The fifth is a satire on the foreign policy which was intended to keep the "balance of power" in Europe: Cardinal Fleury is outwitting the minister, who is attempting in vain to weigh down the scale with "whole reams of treaties," while the Gallic cock is crowing proudly on the back of the sleeping lion. In the sixth, Walpole is seen aspiring, by a dangerous path, to a coronet; and the seventh represents Caleb d'Anvers as the oracle of political wisdom. Another version, apparently, of this series of caricatures, or probably only a different edition, was published under the title "Robin's Game; or, Seven 's the Main." Among the ballads of this period, the titles of which are preserved, we may mention, "Sir Robert Brass; or, the intrigues of the Knight of the Blazing Star," published in February; and "The Knight and the Cardinal, a new ballad," published in June.



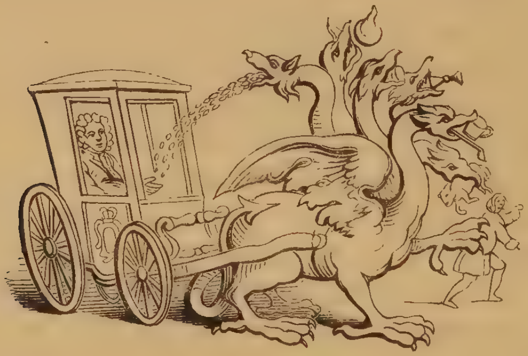
THE BALANCE OF POWER.

The King was so incensed at these virulent attacks, and at the quarter from whence they came, and especially at the pertinacious opposition to his foreign measures, that, on the 1st of July, he called for the council-book, and with his own hand struck the name of William Pulteney out of the list of privy councillors. Read's *Weekly Journal* of July 10, 1731, informs us that "three hawkers were on Monday last (July 5) committed to Tothill Fields Bridewell, for crying about the streets a printed paper, called 'Robin's Game; or, Seven 's the Main.'" Two days after, on Wednesday, July 7, the grand jury of Middlesex presented this same paper, with the seven plates of "Robin's Reign," described above, some numbers of the *Craftsman*, and several political ballads, as seditious libels. A prosecution was immediately commenced in accordance with this presentment. On the Saturday (10th July) one Collins was taken into custody, on suspicion of being the author of "that scandalous libel" called "Robin's Game;" and Franklin, the publisher of the *Craftsman*, with other persons implicated, were subsequently arrested. The ministers now exerted themselves to crush the factious journal, and they obtained a severe verdict of a court of justice against Franklin, which obliged the writers in the *Craftsman* to be more cautious for some time. The newspapers and magazines during the summer were chiefly occupied in discussing the propriety of legal prosecutions against the press.

Bolingbroke and Pulteney, in a somewhat subdued tone, continued their personal attacks upon Walpole. On the 30th of March, 1732, the *Craftsman* boldly insinuated, "that all the corruption of this age is owing to one great man now in the ministry;" and in May the same journal attempted to throw odium on the Whigs, by insinuating that they had a design to get all the lands in England into their own hands, and then destroy the British constitution. In the autumn a great outcry was raised in the same quarter, on the dangers to be apprehended from bad ministers. Towards the end of the year a new cause of alarm was started, which eventually raised the greatest storm to which Sir Robert Walpole's administration had yet been exposed,—the rumour already spread abroad of the minister's intention of proposing a new scheme of excise.

This scheme, which Pulteney in the House of Commons stigmatised as "that *monster* the excise," had nothing very threatening in itself. The trade in wine, and especially tobacco, and the duties which those articles paid, had been liable to very extensive and shameful frauds, injurious alike to the planters, to the merchants, and to the Government; several articles of consumption had long been subject to excise duties, and Walpole s plan was to extend those duties to wine and tobacco, by which the frauds on the public would be in a great measure prevented, and the Government revenue would be considerably increased. But the name of excise had been unpopular in England ever since the days of the Commonwealth; and this circumstance was eagerly seized upon by the opposition, who, long before the ministerial plan was made public, spread abroad misrepresentations of the most extravagant kind, making people believe that every article of daily use was to be excised under the new plan, and that it was a base design to crush the people and establish tyranny. An incredible quantity of pamphlets and ballads, filled with misstatements, were industriously spread over the country as early as the months of January and February, although Walpole did not lay his plan before the House until the 14th of March. Among the caricatures issued at this period, one represents the lion and the unicorn, broken-spirited and harnessed, and marching in wooden shoes, the usual symbol at this time of French influence. A soldier rides on the unicorn, and is supported by the standing army, one of the great objects of the attacks against the Government. The lion is drawing a barrel, on which sits Excise, in the form of a portly individual, intended apparently to represent Sir Robert Walpole.

On one side trade leans sorrowfully over a hogshead of tobacco. The plate is entitled "The triumphant Exciseman." It was now common to mount caricatures upon fans; and among the few fan-caricatures still preserved, there are more than one against the excise, which, agreeably to the epithet bestowed upon it by Pulteney, is represented as a bloated monster, fattening itself upon the goods of the people. In another caricature, the monster appears in the form of a many-headed dragon, drawing the minister in his coach, and pouring into his lap, in the shape of gold, what it had eaten up in the forms of mutton, hams, cups, glasses, mugs, pipes, and any other articles that fall in its way, while people are flying from its ravages in every direction. A "new ballad," entitled "Britain Excised," one of the numerous effusions of a similar class which made their appearance early in the year, speaks of it as a mad project, which already excited the indignation of the *Craftsman* (Caleb) :—



THE NEW MONSTER.

"Folks talk of supplies
To be raised by excise,
Old Caleb is horribly nettled;

Sure B—— [*Bob*] has more sense
Than to levy his pence,
Or troops, when his peace is quite settled.
Horse, foot, and dragoons,
Battalions, platoons,
Excise, wooden shoes, and no jury;
Then taxes increasing,
While traffic is ceasing,
Would put all the land in a fury."

The monster Excise was the most dangerous of them all:—

"See this dragon, Excise,
Has ten thousand eyes,
And five thousand mouths to devour us;
A sting and sharp claws,
With wide-gaping jaws,
And a belly as big as a storehouse."

He begins, perhaps, with wine and liquors, but his greediness will not be appeased with these:—

"Grant these, and the glutton
Will roar out for mutton,
Your beef, bread, and bacon to boot;
Your goose, pig, and pullet
He 'll thrust down his gullet,
Whilst the labourer munches a root."

He will leave no corner unturned that is likely to conceal anything from his ravenous appetite, and threatens the same tyranny which formerly provoked the rebellions of Jack Straw and Wat Tyler:—

"At first he 'll begin ye
With a pipe of Virginie,
Then search ev'ry shop in his rambles;
If you force him to flee
From the Custom-house key,
The monster will lodge in your shambles.

"Your cellars he 'll range,
Your pantry and grange,
No bars can the monster restrain;
Wherever he comes,
Swords, trumpets, and drums,
And slavery march in his train.

"Then sometimes he stoops
To take up the hoops
Of your daughters as well as your barrels:
Tho' an army can awe
A Tyler or Straw,
Heav'n keep us from any such quarrels!"

Such arguments as these were well calculated to prevail with the rabble; and when the minister brought his plan before the House of Commons, the voice of opposition within doors was nothing in comparison with the mad clamour of the mob without. Walpole calmly persisted in his project, and explained the absurdity and wickedness of the misrepresentations which had gone abroad, but to no purpose; the mob increased daily, and even the minister's life was in danger. During the month of April, ballad after ballad and pamphlet upon pamphlet deluged the metropolis. The Lord Mayor, who happened to be a noted Jacobite, persuaded the Common Council to draw up a violent petition against the measure; and several towns in different parts of the country, such as Coventry, Nottingham, &c., followed the example. Awed by the increasing excitement, Walpole at length determined to relinquish his plan; and, when its fate was publicly known, the whole country was filled with rejoicing, as if some extraordinary advantage had been gained. Bonfires blazed in almost every town, and in London the mob burnt the effigy of the minister in Fleet Street. In the

University of Oxford, which still preserved its reputation for Jacobitism, the joy at the defeat of the minister was unbounded, and was openly exhibited in an unbecoming manner. In July, however, after the close of the session, Walpole was received in Norfolk (where the Excise madness appears to have prevailed least) with unusual marks of respect, and his entry into Norwich resembled a triumph. This, in London, was soon made the subject of satirical ballads, in which he was burlesqued under the character of "Sir Sidrophel," and his reception by his constituents turned into ridicule.

The overstrained personalities of Bolingbroke and Pulteney were now exciting indignation among reflecting people, who began to question their motives and designs. Several biting epigrams upon them and their *Craftsmen* appeared during the month of May. Something like an intimation appears to have been dropped, of a willingness, on the part of Pulteney, to listen to conciliatory offers from Walpole; and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the month of May, 1733, contains the following parody on the ninth ode of the third book of Horace :—

"A DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE RIGHT HON. SIR R——T
W——LE AND W——M P——Y, ESQ.

"*W.* While I and you were cordial friends,
Alike our interest and our ends,
I thought my character and place
Secure, and dreaded no disgrace.
No statesman, sure, was more carest,
Or more in his good fortune blest.

"*P.* While I your other self was deem'd,
And worthy such renown esteem'd,—

Ere great Newcastle won your heart,
And in your council took such part,—
I was the happiest man in life,
And, but with Tories, had no strife.

" *W.* Newcastle, noble and polite,
Whom George approves, is my delight;
His loyal merit is his claim,
For him I 'd hazard life and fame.

" *P.* Me St. John now, whom every Muse
And every grace adorns, subdues.
Attach'd to him, I 've learnt to hate
Your person, politics, and state.

" *W.* What if our former friendship should
Return, and you have what you would?
If, for your sake, the noble duke
Should be discarded and forsook?

" *P.* Though St. John now my fury warms,
And all his measures have such charms,—
Though he is fond, indifferent you,—
Our ancient league I 'd yet renew;
For you I 'd speech it in the house,
For you write *Craftsmen* and carouse;
For you with all my soul I 'd vote,
For you make friend, impeach, and plot;
For you I 'd do—what would I not?"

Read's *Weekly Journal* of the 12th of the same month contains the following severe lines on the ingratitude of Bolingbroke:—

"AYE AND NO.

" When from the axe good D'Anvers flew,
And to his King for mercy cried;
His generous King the axe withdrew,
And *Yes* to all he ask'd replied.

"His monarch's goodness to repay,
When moved to act against the foes
Of him who gave him life—'twas *Nay!*
And all his voice could breathe were *No's.*

"O George! hadst thou this *craftsman* known,
The sentence had not seem'd amiss,
For life when cringing to thy throne,
Hadst thou said *No!* instead of *Yes!*

"Yet though his pen so long has raved,
Let him in time chastise his quill;
That law whose *Aye!* has often saved,
May one time have a *No!* to kill."

Every expedient, lawful or unlawful, was, however, now resorted to for the purpose of raising a mob excitement against the elections, for the ensuing session was the last of the present Parliament, and every nerve was strained to render the ministry unpopular with the electors. The excise agitation had not subsided with the year 1733, and to this was now added an outcry against the Riot Act, with exaggerated statements of the depredations which the Spaniards were suffered to commit upon our trade. Agents of the opposition were employed in various parts of the country in preparing for the approaching struggle, months before the dissolution of Parliament. On the 5th of January, 1734, the *Craftsman* says, "They write from Shropshire, that the disputes about the ensuing elections run so high there, that the dragoons are oftentimes called in to appease the disorders." The opposition candidates made progresses in some of the counties during January, which were attended with serious riots and outrages. It has been already observed that caricatures were now frequently mounted on fans: in January, 1734, the newspapers contain repeated advertisements of "a beautiful excise and election fan." Among the ballads was one in which the prime minister was satirised as "The Norfolk Gamester."

The self-named Patriots began in return to be attacked severely, and their patriotism was cried down as mere selfish ambition—the desire of place. A rhymer in Read's *Weekly Journal* of January 7th says—

"You wish, my friend, I'd be so kind,
Sincerely to declare my mind
Of those who talk so loud and wise
Against oppression and excise.
Briefly, the case is now no more
Than what it oft has been before.
The quarrel, that has been so long,
Is not in fact who 's right or wrong;
But this, my friend, no longer doubt,
'Tis who is in, and who is out."

The same journal, on the 26th of January, publishes an attack on the opposition under the title of "The Modern Patriots: a proper new Ballad;" in which the electors are warned against the evil designs of a faction, the chief leaders of which are pictured in no very flattering colours. Bolingbroke heads the list:—

"Of all these famed Patriots, so tight and so true,
It would take too much time for a thorough review;
But a few of these worthies 'tis fit to record:
And the first is a 'squire, that once was a lord.
With a hey derry, &c."

After giving an account of the ex-peer's offences, the ballad adds, with an allusion to his friend Pope, who had written a play for the stage, which was unsuccessful—

"Whate'er were his faults, they have taught him the wit
The blots of his neighbours the better to hit;
As oftentimes poets, whose writings were damn'd,
Have after for critics been notably famed.
With a hey derry, &c."

Next comes Pulteney, who had drawn up the report of the parliamentary committee against Bishop Atterbury, Bolingbroke's friend :—

"The next is a 'squire, who once roasted a bishop,
And an excellent feast to the courtiers did dish up;
But he turn'd cat in pan, as soon as debarr'd
Of the perquisite sauce, which he thought his reward.
With a hey derry, &c."

"And now ever since he hath warmly espoused
The cause of his country, and liberty roused;
And he'll rouse it again, for he that's possess'd
With the spirit of envy, can let nothing rest.
With a hey derry, &c."

Wyndham, and one or two others, are described in a similar strain. The faction led by Bolingbroke and Pulteney seem now to have discarded their title of Patriots, and adopted that of the Country Interest, which was their watchword in the elections of 1734.

During the month of April a greater number of ballads and pamphlets were sent forth than had probably ever been issued before in the same space of time. An anniversary of the defeat of the excise scheme was celebrated by the populace early in the month. On the 16th the Parliament was dissolved, and the elections took place at the end of the month and at the beginning of May. The opponents of ministers never exerted themselves so much; and they practised bribery and corruption as unblushingly as their antagonists. In cases where the corporation of a town were in their interest, they endeavoured to make a majority by creating honorary freemen. Their anxiety about the result is shewn strikingly in the following paragraph of the *Craftsman* of the 20th of April:—"We are credibly informed it will be so ordered that the elections of most counties and corporations, where the friends of *a certain great gentleman* are most likely to succeed, will be brought on first, by way of precedent and encouragement to the *others*. We don't mention this as any extraordinary piece of news, but only to prevent any surprise at the *first returns*." The elections were in most cases hotly contested, and were unusually tumultuous. There was a riot even at Norwich; and the *Craftsman* states, that when Walpole mounted the hustings there, to give his vote as an honorary freeman, "the people called aloud to have the oath administered to him, *that he had received no money for that purpose*." Pulteney's faction was again doomed to disappointment; for, although they had gained a few votes, the strength of the ministry remained unshaken; and they did not even attempt to conceal their mortification. On the 18th of May, a political pamphlet was advertised, under the title of "The City Garland," "with a curious copper-plate representing the humours of an election."

It was in the session of Parliament which had closed in April, that Sir William Wyndham made his famous personal attack on Walpole in the House of Commons, when the minister retorted with a no less violent, but truer, character of Bolingbroke. This is said to have contributed, with several other causes, to drive the latter from the arena of political strife; and he soon afterwards retired to the Continent, with the conviction that his party was carrying on a hopeless contest. A poet of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, in the month of June, compares their unwearied efforts to the labours of Sisyphus :—

> "Thus (as ancient stories tell)
> Sisyphus, condemn'd in hell,
> Up a hill, eternal, toils
> To roll a stone, which back recoils.
> Since the labour 's much the same,
> Sisyphus be P——y's name.
>
> Ever may he toil in vain,
> W——le's life or place to gain!
> Still to aim, and still to fail,
> Striving still, and ne'er prevail!
> Be his hell in life—and can
> Worse befall th' ambitious man?"

Pulteney was, indeed, discouraged and gloomy, and he shewed now some inclination to seek a reconciliation with the minister. A calm, as usual, followed the political storm; and during the rest of the year the only occurrences which made much noise were some religious disputes, arising chiefly from the ultra High-Church zeal of one Dr. Codex, and the extraordinary celebrity of the pills of a quack named Ward.

While the opposition were exclaiming loudly against the dangers to be apprehended from a standing army, the provinces were suffering from riot and tumult which there was no efficient superior force to control. In the western counties, and more especially in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, an active rebellion had for several years been carried on against turnpike-gates, in which, singularly enough, the insurgents disguised themselves in women's clothes, thus presenting a remarkable resemblance to those who, within the last few years, figured so prominently under the title of "Rebecca and her Daughters." We hear of the proceedings of these people as early as 1730 and 1731; and, as the excitement of political faction left a moment of leisure to the newspapers, they convey glimpses of their proceedings until 1735, when the turnpike destroyers in Herefordshire had carried their outrages to so extraordinary a height, that they awed even the county magistrates.*

With respect to Walpole's foreign policy, the factious character of the opposition was becoming so apparent, that it now caused little embarrassment or un-

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* The following particulars relating to these insurgents are taken from the *Daily Gazetteer* of Oct. 8 and Dec. 9, 1735:—

"*Hereford, October* 4.—There are now committed to the county gaol two, and more are daily expected, of the Ledbury rioters, who rather deserve the name of rebels, for they appeared a hundred in a gang, armed with guns and swords, as well as axes to hew down the turnpikes, and were dressed in women's apparel, with high-crown'd hats, and their faces blacken'd. I suppose you have heard of the attack they made at Ledbury on the 21st of September, about nine o'clock at night, when in two hours' time they cut down five or six turnpikes to the ground; but, before they had gone through all their work, they were disturbed by a worthy magistrate in the neighbourhood, John Skipp, Esq.; who, being in the commission of the peace, caused the proclamation to be read against riots, and then the act of Parliament; but to no purpose; for this gentleman, with his servants and neighbours, going to defend the last turnpike, a skirmish ensued, in which he took two of those miscreants prisoners, whom he secured for that night in his own house; but the whole gang appeared soon after, who demanded the said prisoners, threatening, in case of refusal, to pull his house down, and burn his barns and stables, and immediately discharged several loaded pieces into the house, which happily did no damage. The justice finding himself and family beset in such a manner, discharged several blunderbusses and fowling-pieces at them, whereby one was shot dead on the spot, and several so wounded, that 'tis not believed they will recover. At this the rioters fled with precipitation, leaving their two companions behind them. But 'tis fear'd that more blood will yet be spilt, the country being in the greatest confusion, and I am informed that an attempt is designed upon the county gaol; but the quarter sessions being to be held next week, a petition will no doubt be presented to the justices for relief."

"*Hereford, Dec.* 6.—You have

easiness to the Government, and exhibited itself publickly in a way not likely to produce much effect. At the beginning of 1734, when a peace seemed to be securely established, the "Patriots" had clamoured for war. A few months after this a war appeared imminent, and then the same opposition cried out for peace, and complained that the Government was unnecessarily involving the nation in hostilities with its neighbours. Before the end of 1735 the danger had vanished, and then the opposition became as warlike as ever, and the English people was told daily and weekly of the pusillanimity of its rulers. The "balance of power," which

already heard that two men were committed to the keeper of the gaol of this county, for the riot at Ledbury. I am now to acquaint you, that on Sunday last above twenty of those turnpike cutters or levellers, as they call themselves, though that is a character by much too good for them, met with the said keeper at the King's Head Inn at Ross fair, and demanding his reasons for detaining those two men in custody, without giving him time to return an answer, dragged him out of the inn into the street, knocked him down several times, and almost murdered him, notwithstanding all that the innkeeper and his servants could do to prevent it, who were used in a very cruel manner for assisting him. The villains immediately carried the keeper to Wilton's Bridge, where at first they concluded to throw him into the river Wye; but at length they agreed to carry him to a place where they would secure him till they themselves had fetched the prisoners out of custody. The better to complete that design, they dragged him four miles in his boots and spurs, to a place called Horewithey, a public-house, where he was kept prisoner, beat in a shameful manner by those merciless wretches, and obliged to write a discharge to the turnkey, being threatened, in case of refusal, to be hanged upon the spot. Four gentlemen from Hereford, who followed them, and endeavoured to dissuade them from such wickedness and cruelty, were inhumanly beat, and obliged to ride off for their lives. After they had detained the keeper near six hours at the house aforesaid, they ferried him over the Wye, walked him about the country till near four o'clock in the morning, and then robbed him of his money. Those that robbed him made off, but left others to guard him, who, quarrelling and fighting about dividing the booty, it gave the keeper an opportunity to make his escape out of the villains' hands with his life, but not without bruises in abundance."

was the watchword of Walpole's foreign politics and the object of his negotiations, was made the object of ridicule, and his brother, Horace Walpole, who was his great negotiator, received the *sobriquet* of "the balancing master." When he returned from Holland to attend to his parliamentary duties, in the beginning of 1736, the *Craftsman* of Jan. 17 published the following satirical announcement :—

Just arrived from Holland,

THE GREATEST CURIOSITY IN EUROPE!

"Being a *fine large dove*, of the male kind, lineally descended from that of Mount Ararat; which hath had the honour to be shewn in several courts, and given entire satisfaction.

"His feathers are formed exactly in the shape of olive leaves, with a little tuft just rising upon his head, somewhat like a *coronet*. He is of such a wonderful pacific nature, that, as soon as he begins to coo, the most inveterate enemies cannot help shaking hands and growing friends again. He hath not only reconciled several men and their wives, after all other remedies have proved ineffectual, but also divers *great princes*, who have had an hereditary hatred against each other for many generations.

"He likewise sings a variety of merry tunes and catches, to the admiration of all that have heard him.*

"To be seen every day, during the sitting of Parliament, in a room adjoining to the Court of Requests; where all gentlemen and ladies are desired to satisfy their curiosity, before he is *sent abroad again*."

People in general seem not to have partaken in the warlike propensities of the opposition papers at this time; and when the King went to open the Parliament in the middle of January, he was greeted by the mob with unusual acclamations. The next *Craftsman* let out its spleen in an intemperate article, in which it accused the mob of being bribed, spoke of "hired huzzas," and stigmatised those who uttered them as a "ragged rabble." On this occasion, the following spirited epigram went the round of the Whig journals:—

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* Old Horace Walpole was an active speaker in the House of Commons, though he appears by no means to have possessed the eloquence of his brother. The opposition affected to laugh at his speeches, which are perhaps alluded to here as the "merry tunes and catches," that caused so much admiration.

"Round Brunswick's coach the happy Britons throng,
And bear with grateful shouts their Prince along;
Joy fills the skies, with intermingled prayers,
And Europe's general voice seems raised in theirs.
Caleb alone with grief surveys the crowd,
Nor can contain his rage, he vents aloud:
'Are thus my toils repaid, ye witless herd?
Is Britain's peace at last to mine preferr'd?
Ye ragged rascals, ye are *hired* to this;
Be incorrupt like me, and give a *hiss*.
Huzzah, ye *bribed!* but give me patriot strife,
And let me, *gratis*, *hiss* away my life.'"

The disappointed "Patriots" were now exposed to ridicule in their turn, and the newspapers contain satirical allusions to their eagerness to obtain the places held by their opponents. The following is taken from the *Daily Gazetteer* of December 26, 1735:—

"AN ADVERTISEMENT.

"To be sold at a stationer's shop in *Covent Garden*, a neat and curious collection of well-chosen *similes, allusions, metaphors, and allegories*, from the best plays and romances, modern and ancient; proper to adorn a poem or a panegyric on the glorious patriots designed to succeed the present ministry. The similes 5*s*., the metaphors ten, and the allegories a guinea each.

"The author gives notice, that all sublunary metaphors, of a new minister being a rock, a pillar, a bulwark, a strong tower, or a spire-steeple, will be allowed very cheap; celestial ones must be disposed of something dearer, as they are fetched at a greater expense from another world. The new treasurer (W. W.)* may be a *Phœbus*, the new secretary (W. S.)[*] a *Mercury*, the new general (D. of O——d) a *Mars*, for a moidore each; and a tip-top *Neptune*, to introduce the Chevalier, at the same price. A right *Jupiter*, being a capital allusion, and fit only for a prime favourite, will be rated at a duckatoon. Comets and blazing stars are reserved for privy-councillors only; twelve of which are already bespoke and paid for. Mr. *Fog* and Mr. *A——rst* [†] have desired to be each a satellite of *Jupiter*, at a penny the satellite, which is granted. A vagrant, thin, whiffling meteor, dark, yet easily seen thro', is set aside for *E. B——ll*,[‡] Esq.; and another of the same odd qualities, for the author of the 'Persian Letters.' The belt of Saturn, little worse for wearing, will be sold a pennyworth. The North Star is bespoke for a hero in the south,[§] as soon as he arrives next in Scotland to finish his conquests; and the *Great Bear* for his first minister and confessor.[||] All the signs in the zodiac, except *Scorpio*, will be sold in one lot; which, for its biting, stinging, scratching, poisonous quality, is set aside for a *Gray's-Inn* barrister. [¶] For his steady, regular, uniform motion, W. P.,[**] Esq., may, with great propriety, be a *fixed star* of the first magnitude, for five guineas; and a certain viscount,[††] the *Syrius ardens* of *Horace*, or the incendiary enflaming light *in capite Leonis*, at the same price.

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* Sir William Wyndham.

"*P.S.*—The same author has, with great pains and study, prepared a collection of state satires, enriched with the newest and most fashionable topics of defamation, which may serve, with a very little variation, to libel a judge, a bishop, or a prime minister. The maker of these satires, a great observer of decorums, begs leave to acquaint the public, that he thinks, a king, in respect to the dignity of his character, ought never to be abused but in folio, morocco leather, and the leaves gilt; a queen in quarto, neatly bound; a peer in octavo, letter'd on the back; and a commoner in 12mo., stitch'd only.

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[*] William Shippen, M.P.

[†] *Fog's Journal*, the successor to *Mist's*, was the chief organ of the Tories after the *Craftsman*. The latter was, as has been already stated, edited by Nicholas Amhurst, under the assumed name of *Caleb* d'Anvers.

[‡] Perhaps Eustace Budgell, Esq., a writer in the *Craftsman*, who committed suicide not long after this date. A series of attacks were made on the English ministry at this period, under the fictitious character of memoirs of *Persian* affairs.

[§] The Pretender.

[||] Probably Bishop Atterbury.

[¶] Amhurst, the editor of the *Craftsman*, was of Gray's Inn.

[**] William Pulteney.

[††] ? Lord Carteret.

"*N.B.*—The same satirist has collections of reasons ready by him against the ensuing peace, though he has not yet read the preliminaries, or seen one article of the pacification."

While the violence of opposition appeared to be subsiding, a new subject of popular discontent suddenly arose in 1736. The depravity of the lower orders, and the debased state of public morals, had frequently been made a subject of declamation, and had been attributed to a variety of causes. Many persons of late had ascribed the worst disorders of the times to the increasing vice of drunkenness; and, in fact, the drinking of gin and other spirituous liquors appears to have prevailed among the lower classes of society to a degree at once alarming and revolting. A paragraph in the *Old Whig* of Feb. 26, 1736, informs us, "We hear that a strong-water shop was lately opened in Southwark, with this inscription on the sign:*—

"'Drunk for 1*d.*
Dead drunk for 2*d.*
Clean straw for nothing.'"

The newspapers of the period contain frequent announcements of sudden deaths in the taverns from excessive drinking of gin. Some zealous reformers of public manners formed the project of putting a stop to this bane of society by prohibiting the sale of the article which fed it, or, which was the same thing, laying on it a heavy duty, which would make it too expensive to be purchased by the poor, and at the same time prohibiting the sale of it in small quantities. A bill with this object was brought into Parliament by Sir Joseph Jekyl, and, although Walpole seems not to have given it his entire approbation, was passed, after an energetic opposition by the Patriots in the House, and by those whose interests it affected out of the House. This bill was to come into operation on the 29th of September following. It appears to have caused no great excitement at first; but, as the time approached when the populace was to be deprived of their favourite gin, their discontent began to show itself in a riotous shape, and the opponents of the ministry urged them on in every possible manner. Ballads in lamentation of "Mother Gin" were sung in the streets. As early as the 17th July, the *Craftsman* announces the publication of a caricature, entitled "The Funeral of Madam Geneva," with the addition, "who died, Sept. 29, 1736." As the date last mentioned approached, the excitement increased, and serious riots were prevented only by the watchfulness of the authorities. The signs of the liquor-shops were everywhere put in mourning; and some of the dealers made a parade of mock ceremonies for "Madam Geneva's lying in state," which was the occasion of mobs, and the justices were obliged to commit "the chief mourners" to prison. The *Daily Gazetteer* says, "Last Wednesday (Sept. 29), several people made themselves very merry on the death of Madam Gin, and some of both sexes got soundly drunk at her funeral, for which the mob made a formal procession with torches, but committed no outrages." The same newspaper adds: "The exit of Mother Gin in Bristol has been enough bewailed by the retailers and drinkers of it; many of the latter, willing to have their fill, and to take the last farewell in a respectful manner of their beloved dame, have not scrupled to pawn and sell their very clothes, as the last devoir they can pay to her memory. It was observed, Monday,

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* This inscription was afterwards introduced by Hogarth into his caricature of Gin Lane, and was remembered at the time of the repeal of the Gin Act in 1743. See Smollett.

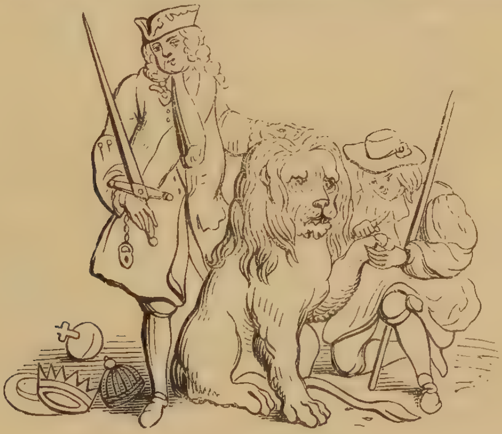
Tuesday, and Wednesday, that several retailers' shops were well crowded, some tippling on the spot, while others were carrying it off from a pint to a gallon; and one of those shops had such a good trade, that it put every cask they had upon the stoop; and the owner with sorrowful sighs said, 'Is not this a barbarous and cruel thing, that I must not be permitted to fill them again?' and pronounced a heavy woe on the instruments of their drooping. Such has been the lamentation, that on Wednesday night her funeral obsequies were performed with formality in several parishes, and some of the votaries appeared in ragged clothes, some without gowns, and others with one stocking; but among them all, we don't hear of any that have carried their grief so far, as to hang or drown themselves, rather choosing the drinking part to finish their sorrow; and accordingly a few old women are pretty near tipping off the perch, by sipping too large a draught. We hear from Bath, that Mother Gin has been lamented in that city much after the same manner." Similar scenes were witnessed in other cities and towns. In reading accounts like these we seem to have before our eyes the pictures of Hogarth.

The Gin Act did but little good; for while, on one hand, it encouraged a troop of common informers, who became the pest of the country, it was on the other hand evaded in every possible manner, and with great facility. Not only was gin publicly sold in shops, but hawkers carried it about the streets in flasks and bottles, under fictitious names. The titles thus adopted were in some cases amusing enough. Read's *Weekly Journal* of October 23rd tells us, "The following drams are sold at several brandy-shops in High Holborn, St. Giles's, Thieving Lane, Tothill Street, Rosemary Lane, Whitechapel, Shoreditch, Old Mint, Kent Street, &c.; viz. *Sangree*, *Tom Row*, *Cuckold's Comfort*, *Parliament Gin*, *Make Shift*, *the Last Shift*, *the Ladies' Delight*, *the Baulk*, *King Theodore* or *Corsica*, *Cholick* and *Gripe Waters*, and several others, to evade the late act of Parliament." Others coloured the liquor, and exposed it in bottles, labelled "Take two or three spoonfuls of this four or five times a day, or as often as the fit takes you." Some people set up as chemists, selling chiefly "cholick-water" and "gripe-water," with the further intimation that they gave "advice gratis." And when some of the evaders of the law were brought before the courts for examination, and it was observed that the chemists' shops were much more frequented than formerly, they are represented as giving for answer, "that the late act had given many people the cholic, and that was the reason they had so many patients."

The gin agitation continued unabated through the years 1737 and 1738, and gave rise to many a ballad and broadside. In the July of the former year appeared, among many other similar productions, "The Fall of Bob; or, The Oracle of Gin: a tragedy;" and "Desolation; or, The Fall of Gin: a poem." It was not an unusual thing to hear of three or four hundred informations against people for the illegal sale of gin at one time. The informers were unprincipled people, who not only used all kinds of snares to decoy their victims, but sometimes laid false informations, to gratify private revenge. They thus became objects of extreme hatred to the mob; and whenever they fell into the hands of the populace, they were treated in an unmerciful manner, beaten rudely, rolled in the dirt, pumped upon, and often carried to some horse-pond outside the town to be ducked. In some cases this last operation was performed in the Thames; and there were instances in which the offender was thrown into the river, and narrowly escaped drowning. This exercise of mob-justice had become so frequent in the autumn of 1737, that it was found necessary in September to issue a proclamation, offering a reward of £20 for the discovery of any person concerned in such outrages, a measure which had, however, a very limited effect in checking them.

In the course of 1737 Walpole lost his best supporter in Queen Caroline, who died on the 20th of November; and the opposition had already been strengthened by the accession to their ranks of Frederick Prince of Wales, who had first been led into a violent quarrel with his father, and then took the lead in all measures likely to embarrass his father's government. The Prince had taken up his residence at Norfolk House, where, from this time, all the movements of the opposition were discussed and resolved upon. Encouraged by this great addition to their strength, the allied "Patriots" and Tories roused themselves for the senatorial strife, and the session of 1738 was perhaps the most stormy one that Walpole had yet passed. The object of attack was the foreign policy; for the opposition believed, that, if they could once push the country into a war, the present ministry would be obliged to go out of office. The English merchant-vessels had been long in the habit of carrying on an illicit commerce on the coasts of the Spanish possessions in America, to hinder which the Spanish government had lately ordered its guarda-costas to be more watchful in their duties, and the Spanish commanders, in carrying out these duties, seem often to have shewn an unnecessary degree of insolence and severity. The right of search, which has usually been claimed under such circumstances, was always a tender question; and the English merchants, on the present occasion, made loud complaints of the injuries they were daily suffering. One Captain Robert Jenkyns pretended, that, when his vessel had been searched, the Spaniards had, in an insolent and cruel manner, cut off one of his ears. It was insinuated by the ministerial supporters, that, if Jenkyns had lost his ear at all, it had been taken from him on the pillory. He was evidently the tool of a party. Nevertheless, this story, which Edmund Burke afterwards called "the fable of Jenkyns' ears," produced an extraordinary sensation, and the captain was brought forward to make a statement of his wrongs before the House of Commons. Walpole found himself, to a certain degree, obliged to give way to the popular clamour, and make a slight show of warlike demonstration. He felt, in fact, that the conduct of the Spaniards could not in all respects be defended; but he still clung to his pacific policy, and carried on negotiations with the court of Spain which led at the end of the year to a convention, stipulating for the release of some prizes and the payment of certain sums of money, but which convention was understood in the light of a preliminary to the arrangement of a subsequent treaty.

These negotiations were not what the opposition wanted, and they openly accused the minister of sacrificing the interests of his country, with no other object than that of keeping his place. In November, we find the *Craftsman* employing its pleasantry on Walpole's great belly and on his luxurious living, and accusing him of suppressing the truth, in order to conceal the real extent of the Spanish depredations. Among the most popular caricatures published at this time, was a series of prints (continued in the year following) under the title of "The European Races," which require, what was really printed, a pamphlet to explain them. Another caricature, entitled "In Place," represents the minister sitting at his official table, and refusing to hear the numerous petitions and complaints, while a man with a candle is burning one of the numbers of the *Craftsman.* A print, entitled "Slavery," exhibits the well known story of Jenkyns' ear. Another, published in October, 1738, applies the fable of the lion in love, and represents Sir Robert Walpole keeping the lion of England tame, while the Spaniard cuts his nails. The character of the pamphlets on the same subject may be surmised from the title of one advertised in the month of September, "Ministerial Virtue; or, Long-suffering extolled in a great Man." The negotiations of the minister were satirised bitterly in "The Negotiators; or, Don Diego brought to reason: an excellent new ballad;" which may be cited as an



PARING THE NAILS OF THE BRITISH LION.

example of the political ballads made on this occasion. Walpole's negotiations, according to this ballad, must silence the clamours of the injured merchants:—

"Our merchants and tars a strange pother have made,
With losses sustain'd in their ships and their trade;
But now they may laugh and quite banish their fears,
Nor mourn for lost liberty, riches, or *ears:*
    Since Blue-String the great,
    To better their fate,
    Once more has determined he'll *negotiate;*
And swears the proud Don, whom he dares not to fight,
Shall submit to his logic, and do 'em all right.

"No sooner the knight had declared his intent,
But straight to the Irish Don Diego he went;
And lest, if alone, of success he might fail,
Took with him his brother to balance the scale.
    For long he had known,
    What all men must own,
    That two heads were ever deem'd better than one:
And sure in Great Britain no two heads there are
That can with the knight's and his brother's compare."

The Don will not receive them on their first call, but he admits them on the second day, and the knight (Walpole) states their business, and petitions for the delivery of the ships of the English merchants detained by the Spaniards. Horace recounts the various secret services which his brother has performed for the latter power:—

"'Consider how oft himself he exposed,
And 'twixt you and Great Britain's just rage interposed;
When her fleets were equipp'd, you must certainly know,
By him they were hinder'd from striking a blow.
    Thus Hosier the brave
    Was sent to his grave,
    On an errand which better had fitted a slave;
Being order'd to take (if he could) your galleons,
By force of persuasion, not that of his guns.'"

The Don replies in a tone of astonishment :—

> "Quoth the Don, 'What you say, my good friends, may be true,
> But I wonder that you for such varlets will sue.
> Merchants! ha! they were once *sturdy beggars*, I think,*
> And, were I in your place, I would let them all sink.
> They opposed your excise;
> Then, if you are wise,
> Reject their petitions, be deaf to their cries;
> And let us like brothers together agree,—
> You excise them on land, I'll excise them at sea.'"

The minister's answer is in perfect accordance with the sentiments of the Don :—

> "'Noble Don,' quoth the knight, 'I should heartily close
> (For hugely I like it) with what you propose.
> Our merchants are grown very saucy and rich,
> And 'tis time to prepare a good rod for their breech :
> Were I *once* to *speak true*,
> Give the Devil his due,
> I love them as little, nay, far less than you;
> And would willingly crush them, but that I'm afraid
> Of this a bad use by my foes might be made.'"

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* During the debates on the Excise scheme in the beginning of 1733, the House of Commons was beset by a tumultuous mob, who not only solicited the members to vote against the ministerial measure, but even employed threats. Smollett informs us, that one day "Sir Robert Walpole took notice of the multitudes which had beset all the approaches to the House. He said it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them : that gentlemen might give them what name they should think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called *sturdy beggars*, and those who brought them to that place could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Barnard, [the member for London,] who observed that merchants of character had a right to come down to the Court of Requests and lobby of the House of Commons, in order to solicit their friends and acquaintance against any scheme or project which they might think prejudicial to their commerce : that when he came into the House, he saw none but such as deserved the appellation of *sturdy beggars* as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever."

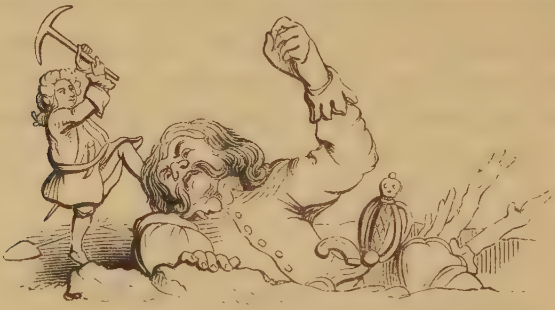
In the sequel, a private arrangement is made; the Spaniard takes a bribe, and agrees to appear more moderate; and the King and the nation are equally deceived by a specious story of the terror inspired by the renown of the British arms.

The outcry against the insolence of the Spaniards continued unabated in 1739, and the "convention," signed at Madrid on the 14th of January, was designated as an "infamous" betrayal of the natural rights of Englishmen, because it did not insist upon claims which really had never been allowed by Spain. When Parliament met, the opposition had increased in violence; their clamours against the articles and principles of the "convention" were loud in both Houses, and Jenkyns' "ear" made a greater figure than ever. In this debate William Pitt, then a young man, first distinguished himself in the ranks of the opposition. The minister, however, still carried the day by his majorities; and a portion of the opposition, led by Sir William Wyndham, had recourse to the dramatic effect of a public secession from the House, a measure very acceptable to the Government, and which was far from producing the results expected from it. But the overbearing conduct of Spain soon seconded the efforts of the English "Patriots" in hurrying the two countries into a war, which was declared on the 19th of October, 1739, amid the enthusiastic shouts of the mob. The French court showed anything but a friendly aspect towards England on this occasion; and, by its threats and persuasions, Holland was induced to remain neutral, and withhold the auxiliary troops which the States were bound by treaties to furnish to their ally; so that England was left to fight single-handed, with a small army and not a well-manned fleet, and a Parliamentary opposition who cried out against every method of increasing the former or raising sailors for the latter, and yet who began soon to blame the Government for their want of vigour in carrying on hostilities. The behaviour of the Dutch was the subject of a caricature, entitled "The States in a Lethargy," in which they are represented by a lion asleep in a cradle, rocked by Cardinal Fleury.

The caricatures began now to be more numerous and more spirited than at any previous period. Among those which appeared towards the end of the year, we may mention one, bearing date the 8th of October, 1739, and entitled "Hocus Pocus; or, The Political Jugglers," which is divided into four compartments. In the first an Englishman is seen fighting with a Spaniard, while "Hogan" (the Dutchman) takes the opportunity of picking his pocket. The second compartment represents Commerce, in the form of a bull, baited by all the powers concerned on this occasion. In the third, Cardinal Fleury ap-

DUTCH FRIENDSHIP.

pears as a negotiator, with money on a table; while the fourth represents Gibraltar besieged by the Spaniards. This port had now begun to be looked upon as one of vital importance for English commerce. Another caricature, published about the end of the year, under the title of "Fee Fau Fum," and like the former divided into four compartments, pictures the minister in the character of Jack the Giant-killer. In the first compartment the political hero has betrayed a mighty giant, the personification of the Sinking Fund, into a pit, and is destroying him with his pick-axe. On the giant's girdle is inscribed the word "Convention," and round his garter "*The Ear*," of course the celebrated *ear* of Captain Jenkyns, which, with the subsequent convention, had brought on the war that had obliged the Government to draw heavily upon the Sinking Fund in order to defray its expenses. In the second compartment Jack is encountering the giant Fleury. In the third he is pursuing a two-headed giant, armed with a club (? Spain and France.) In the fourth, the minister, in his character of the hero, is knocking boldly at the castle gate, while a



THE POLITICAL JACK THE GIANT-KILLER.

three-headed giant (Spain, France, and Sweden) is looking upon him from a window above. The English government had narrowly escaped a war with the latter of these three powers; France, as we have already seen, acted a part calculated to excite the apprehensions of the English; and Spain was engaged in open hostilities, and inflicting on the merchants much greater injuries than they had sustained from her guarda-costas.

JACK IN HIS GLORY.

The war with Spain was carried on with no great activity; and the only event which threw any credit upon it was the taking of Porto Bello, in the Isthmus of Darien, on the 22nd of November, 1739, by Admiral Vernon, with six ships of the line. It appears that this success was owing more to the cowardice of the garrison, than to the conduct of the English admiral, who was a vain man with no great capacity. But he was a personal enemy of the minister, and he was on that account cried up by the opposition, and became in consequence the popular hero of the mob, who were made to believe that the Government was jealous of him because he was a "patriot." When the news reached home in March, 1740, his friends in England fed his discontent, by telling him that the Court opposed the public acknowledgment due to his merits; and he wrote back to his friends, that he was checked in his victorious career by the neglect of the ministers at home. It was hinted that the Government would willingly see Vernon's armament perish in inactivity, as they had suffered that of Admiral Hosier to die away on the same station in 1726. This was a means of reviving old clamours and animosities, for the fate of poor Hosier had excited great sympathy. A print was published, entitled "Hosier's Ghost," and representing the spectres of the unfortunate brave who had thus perished in those unhealthy seas, calling upon Vernon's sailors for revenge; and a pathetic ballad was distributed, which has retained its popularity even in modern times, from the circumstance of its insertion in the "Reliques" of Bishop Percy. It was attributed to Pulteney; but the true writer is understood to have been Glover, the author of "Leonidas."

ADMIRAL HOSIER'S GHOST.

"As near Porto Bello lying
On the gently swelling flood,
At midnight with streamers flying
Our triumphant navy rode;
There while Vernon sate all-glorious
From the Spaniards' late defeat,
And his crews, with shouts victorious,
Drank success to England's fleet,

"On a sudden, shrilly sounding,
Hideous yells and shrieks were heard;
Then, each heart with fear confounding,
A sad troop of ghosts appear'd,
All in dreary hammocks shrouded,
Which for winding-sheets they wore,
And with looks by sorrow clouded
Frowning on that hostile shore.

"On them gleam'd the moon's wan lustre,
When the shade of Hosier brave
His pale bands was seen to muster
Rising from their watery grave.

O'er the glimmering wave he hy'd him,
  Where the Burford* rear'd her sail,
With three thousand ghosts beside him,
  And in groans did Vernon hail.

" 'Heed, oh heed our fatal story,—
  I am Hosier's injured ghost,—
You who now have purchased glory
  At this place where I was lost!
Though in Porto Bello's ruin
  You now triumph free from fears,
When you think on our undoing,
  You will mix your joy with tears.

" 'See these mournful spectres sweeping
  Ghastly o'er this hated wave,
Whose wan cheeks are stain'd with weeping—
  These were English captains brave!
Mark those numbers pale and horrid,—
  Those were once my sailors bold!
Lo, each hangs his drooping forehead,
  While his dismal tale is told.

" 'I, by twenty sail attended,
  Did this Spanish town affright:
Nothing then its wealth defended
  But my orders not to fight.
Oh! that in this rolling ocean
  I had cast them with disdain,
And obey'd my heart's warm motion,
  To have quell'd the pride of Spain!

" 'For resistance I could fear none,
  But with twenty ships had done
What thou, brave and happy Vernon,
  Hast achiev'd with six alone.
Then the bastimentos never
  Had our foul dishonour seen,
Nor the sea the sad receiver
  Of this gallant-train had been.

---

* The name of Admiral Vernon's ship.

"'Thus, like thee, proud Spain dismaying,
And her galleons leading home,
Though, condemn'd for disobeying,
I had met a traitor's doom,
To have fallen, my country crying
He has play'd an English part,
Had been better far than dying
Of a griev'd and broken heart.

"'Unrepining at thy glory,
Thy successful arms we hail;
But remember our sad story,
And let Hosier's wrongs prevail.
Sent in this foul clime to languish,
Think what thousands fell in vain,
Wasted with disease and anguish,
Not in glorious battle slain.

"'Hence with all my train attending
From their oozy tombs below,
Thro' the hoary foam ascending,
Here I feed my constant woe:
Here the bastimentos viewing,
We recal our shameful doom,
And our plaintive cries renewing,
Wander thro' the midnight gloom.

"'O'er these waves for ever mourning
Shall we roam deprived of rest,
If to Britain's shores returning
You neglect my just request.
After this proud foe subduing,
When your Patriot friends you see,
Think on vengeance for my ruin,
And for England shamed in me!"

For a while nothing was talked of but Vernon and Porto Bello, and even the French were said to have become alarmed at our rising power in America. A caricature, published in July, 1740, under the title of "The Cardinal in the Dumps, with the Head of the Colossus," represents Fleury looking with amazement on the portrait of Admiral Vernon, and exclaiming, "G—d, he'll take all our acquisitions in America! His iron will get the better of my gold!" In the background the head of Walpole appears raised on a pole, under which is written, "The preferment of the Barber's Block;" and still lower, through an aperture of the wall, is seen the picture of "Poor Hosier's ——" [Ghost.]

THE CARDINAL IN THE DUMPS.

In several prints issued during this year Walpole was caricatured as the Great Colossus, as the idol to whom all must bow who would obtain Court favour; and the clamour daily became louder against the possession of too much power by a prime minister.

No actions of importance followed the capture of Porto Bello, while the merchants suffered much more seriously from the Spanish cruisers and privateers than from the petty aggressions of their guarda-costas, and they filled the country with their complaints against the mismanagement of the war. This, joined with a great scarcity of provisions in consequence of an unfavourable season, increased so much the general dissatisfaction, that riots of the most serious character took place in different parts of the island, attended in some instances with bloodshed, and the name of Walpole became exceedingly unpopular. The opposition looked forward with confident hopes to the effect of this excitement on the elections, which were to come on in the spring of 1741, and for which they were making active preparations before the end of the year. In November appeared a bitter metrical lampoon on Walpole, entitled "Are these Things so? The previous Question, from an Englishman in his Grotto to a Great Man at Court," pointing out all the political sins ascribed to his administration in very strong language, and taking for its significant motto the words of Horace —

> "Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti,
> *Tempus abire tibi.*"

It was immediately followed by another pamphlet in the same strain, under the title "Yes, they are;" and these, with one or two answers and rejoinders, seem to have made a considerable sensation. In the beginning of 1741 all the old subjects of clamour against the Government were revived, and almost every opposition paper was filled with new attacks on the excise project and on the "infamous" convention. Lists of the members who voted for and against the latter measure were industriously spread among the

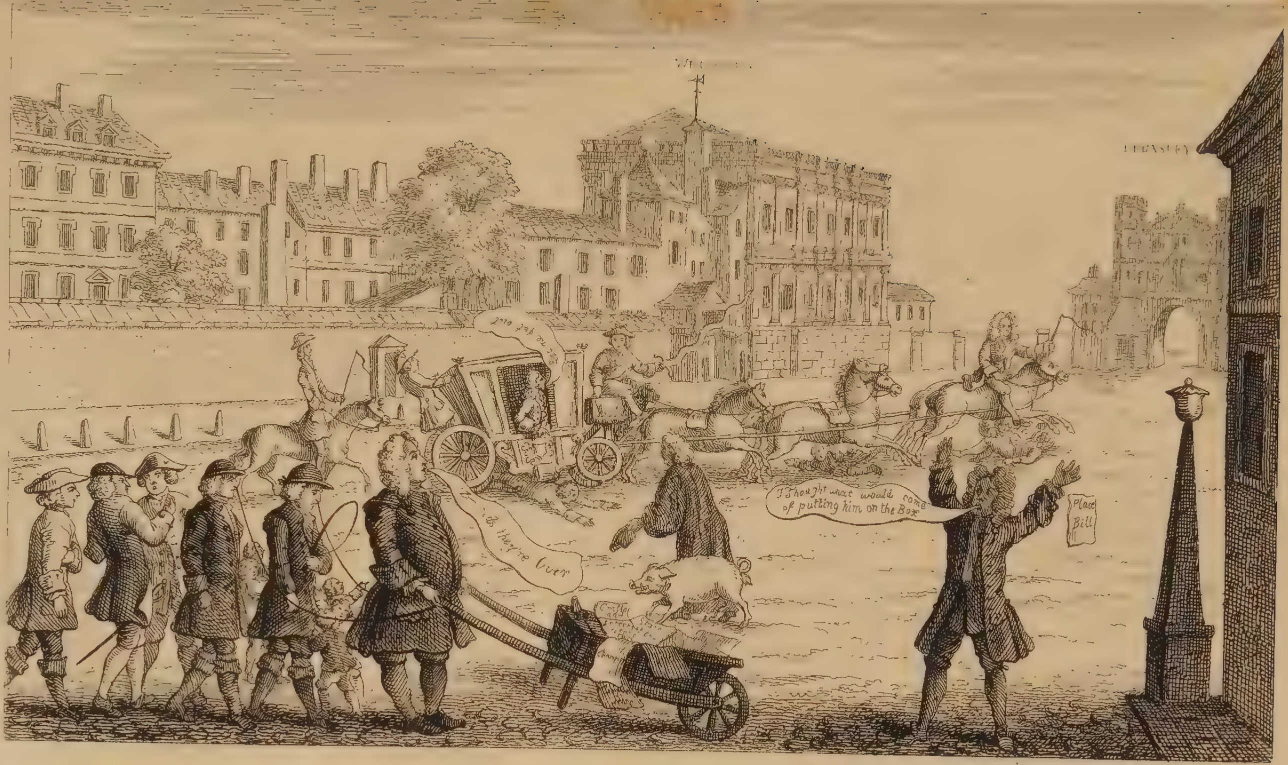
THE DEVIL UPON TWO STICKS.

electors. Amidst a variety of political squibs, there appeared on the 9th of January a caricature entitled "The Devil upon two Sticks. To the worthy Electors of Great Britain;" in which two of the members are represented carrying the minister over a slough or pond upon their shoulders, whilst some have got over in safety, though not without evident marks of the wet and dirt through which they had passed. Britannia and her "Patriots" remain behind. Underneath are written the words "Members who voted for the Excise and against the Convention."

The expectations of the opposition had now become so sanguine, that they determined not to wait for another session to impress upon the minister the truth of the motto which had been applied to him in the title-page just alluded to. Sandys, one of the most discontented of the discontented Whigs, and who, for the readiness with which he always put himself forward on such occasions, had obtained the name of "The Motion Maker," was again chosen to take the lead. On the 13th of February, 1741, at the conclusion of a long and violent attack upon Walpole, reviewing the whole of his foreign policy, stigmatising him as a tool of France, who had sacrificed the real English interests on the Continent to the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon, and charging him with arrogating to himself the "unconstitutional" place of sole minister, and with unnecessarily burthening his country with debts and taxes, Sandys moved an address to the King, "that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's presence and councils for ever." This motion was seconded by Lord Limerick and warmly supported by Pulteney, Pitt, and others.

As the opposition seemed to approach nearer to the attainment of power, the discordant materials of which it was composed began to shew their want of cordiality, and on Sandys' motion the Jacobites and many of the Tories left the house before the division. The consequence of this desertion was, that the minister, who made an able speech in his own defence, triumphed by an unusually large majority. On the same day, Lord Carteret (who had become one of Walpole's most violent opponents, and aspired to his place) produced a similar motion in the House of Lords, and was seconded by the Duke of Argyle, and supported by the Duke of Bedford and other opposition peers; but the victory of the court party was here as complete as in the other House.

The opposition shrunk back confused and mortified; and Walpole's friends and supporters set no bounds to their exultation. Within a few days appeared a print entitled "The Motion," of which a copy is given in the accompanying plate. It was one of the most spirited, and became one of the most celebrated, caricatures of the day. The background represents Whitehall, the Treasury, and the adjoining buildings, as they then stood. Lord Carteret, in the coach, is driven towards the Treasury by the Duke of Argyle as coachman, with the Earl of Chesterfield as postilion, who, in their haste, are overturning the vehicle; and Lord Carteret cries "Let me get out!" The Duke brandishes a wavy sword, instead of a whip; and between his legs the heartless changeling Bubb Dodington sits in the form of a spaniel. Their characters are thus set forth in the verses printed beneath the original engraving:—


Let me get out
Z—ds they're Over
I Thought what would come of putting him on the Box
Place Bill

THE MOTION.

"Who be dat de box do sit on?
'Tis John, the hero of North Briton,
Who, out of place, does place-men spit on.
Doodle, &c.

"Between his legs de spaniel curr see,
Tho' now he growl at Bob so fiercé,
Yet he fawn'd on him once in *doggerel* versé.
Doodle, &c.

"And who be dat postilion there,
Who drive o'er all, and no man spare?
'Tis Ph—l—p e—le of here and there.
Doodle, &c.

"But pray who in de coaché sit-a?
'Tis honest J—nny C—t—ritta,
Who vant in place again to get-a.
Doodle, &c."

Lord Cobham holds firmly by the straps behind, as footman; while Lord Lyttelton follows on horseback, characterised equally by his own lean form, and by that of the animal across which he strides.

"Who 's dat behind? 'Tis Dicky Cobby,
Who first would have hang'd, and then try'd Bobby.
Oh! was not that a pretty jobb-e?
Doodle, &c.

"Who 's dat who ride astride de poney,
So long, so lank, so lean, and bony?
Oh! he be the great orator, Little-Toney!
Doodle, &c."

In front, Pulteney, drawing his partisans by the noses, and wheeling a barrow laden with the writings of the opposition, the *Champion*, the *Craftsman*, *Common Sense*, &c., exclaims, "Zounds! they are over!"

"Close by stands Billy, of all Bob's foes
The wittiest far in verse and prose;
How he lead de puppies by de nose!"

To the right, Sandys, dropping in astonishment his favourite Place Bill, (which had been so often thrown out of the House,) cries out "I thought what would come of putting him on the box!"

> "Who 's he dat lift up both his handes?
> Oh! that 's his wisdom, Squire S——s!
> Oh! de Place Bill drop! oh! de army standes!"

The prelate, who bows so obsequiously as they pass, is Smallbrook, Bishop of Lichfield.

> "What parson 's he dat bow so civil?
> Oh! dat 's de bishop who split de devil,
> And made a devil and a half, and half a devil!"

Several editions of "The Motion" were published, and one, in the collection of Mr. Burke, is fitted for a fan. Another, very neatly drawn and etched on a folio plate, and dated February 19th, contains great variations, and wants much of the pointed meaning of the genuine print. They here appear to be driving into a river; Pulteney and Sandys are omitted; two prelates hold on by the straps behind the coach, which seems in no imminent danger of falling; yet Carteret cries out to his driver, "John, if you drive so fast, you 'll overset us all, by G—d!"

Horace Walpole, who received a copy of "The Motion" at Florence, writes to his friend Conway, "I have received a print by this post that diverts me extremely—'The Motion.' Tell me, dear, now, who made the design, and who took the likenesses; they are admirable; the lines are as good as one sees on such occasions."

On the 2nd of March the "Patriots" retaliated with a caricature entitled "The Reason," in which we have another carriage, with the portly form of Sir Robert Walpole as coachman:—

"Who be dat de box do sit on?
Dat 's de driver of G—— B——,
Whom all de Patriots do spit on."

The verses, as it will be seen by this specimen, are a parody on those attached to "The Motion," to which it is inferior in point and spirit. On one side the foppish and effeminate Lord Hervey, so well known by Pope's satirical title of "Lord Fanny," who had distinguished himself on the ministerial side in the debate in the House of Lords, is represented as riding on a wooden horse, drawn by two individuals, one of whom says, encouragingly, "Sit fast, Fanny, we are sure to win." The verses referring to this figure, are—

LORD FANNY.

"Dat painted butterfly so prim-a,
On wooden Pegasus so trim-a,
Is something—nothing—'tis a whim-a."

Lord Hervey was in the habit of painting his face to conceal the ghastly paleness of his countenance. Another copy of this caricature, with some variations, was published so quickly after the original, that, in the advertisement of the latter in the *London Daily Post* of March 3rd, (the day after the date engraved on the plate,) the public are desired to beware of a "piratical print" under the same title.

Another rather elaborate caricature was published about the same time under the title of "The Motive; or, Reason for his Honour's Triumph;" directed, like the last, against the ministry, and with similar verses at the foot. Walpole, in the same character of coachman, drives the carriage inscribed as the "Commonwealth," with the King within it, and, with the Duke of Marlborough as his second, goads on Merchandise, the Sinking-fund, and Husbandry as his horses. A number of different groups bear allusion to the various methods by which the bribery and corruption with which Walpole was charged influenced his supporters.

On March the 6th was advertised a caricature entitled "A Consequence of the Motion." The *Daily Post* announces the publication, on Saturday the 7th of March, of another caricature against the opposition, under the title of "The Political Libertines; or, Motion upon Motion." In this print the coach is again broken down in front of the Exchequer, and most of the characters are reproduced who had figured in the former print of "The Motion," in very similar positions. Lord Lyttelton is as before riding on "poor Rosinante;" Chesterfield is again postilion; Pulteney disapproves of the driver; and Sandys, with the Pension Bill hanging from his pocket, shrugs his shoulders and exclaims "Z—ns! it's all over!"

"Grave Sam was set to put the motion,
For his honour's high promotion,
But the House disliked the notion."

Bishop Smallbrook also makes his appearance again, accompanied by a hog, which grunts fiends from its mouth; while the churchman says, "I can pray, but not fast!"

"Next the prelate comes in fashion,
Who of swine has robb'd the nation,
Though against all approbation."

There are in the same print many other allusions to the minor subjects of political agitation of the day. An advertisement in the same number of the *Daily Post* (the 7th of March) states that "on Monday next will be published (to supply the defects of 'The Reason' and 'The Motive') 'The Grounds;' a print setting forth the true reasons of the motion, in opposition to a print called 'The Motion.'" In the same paper, of the 10th of March, "The Grounds" is advertised for sale. This caricature, which is rather gross, was intended to expose the various ways in which the minister extorted money from the country, and expended it in bolstering up his own power in office. He is represented, under the title of Volpone the Projector, cutting up an infant, intended to represent the Sinking Fund, on a machine which is called the money-press. It is drawn by a pack of his supporters, yoked and harnessed; and, in its way, manufactures, trade, honesty, and liberty, are crushed under the wheels. Behind it, the *Gazetteer* and *Freeman's Journal*, with others of the minister's paid organs of the press, are beating for recruits. In the foreground "Bribery and Corruption," personified by a fair and gaily dressed lady, is distributing bishoprics and law appointments to prelates and judges, who likewise have yokes round their necks: one of the former exclaims "Thy yoke is easy, and thy burden light;" while a judge says, with equal eagerness, "Your will to us shall be a law!" Behind the prelates are a crowd of yoked excisemen, longing for a general excise; and on the other side the officers of the army standing in a similar predicament. In the distance are Torbay with the English fleet, and the harbours of Brest and Ferrol with the fleet of France: Walpole is emitting two winds, one of which hinders the English fleet from leaving its station in Torbay, while the other blows the French fleet on its way to the West Indies. Contrary winds had delayed Admiral Ogle's departure from Torbay to reinforce Vernon at this critical moment, which the opposition unjustly attributed to Walpole's mismanagement.

> "De Register Bill he take lately in hand,
> Dat de forces by sea, as well as by land,
> Might be slaves to his will and despotic command.
>
> Fifteen years he withold dem from curbing deir foes,
> Who plunder and search dem; den, to add to deir woes,
> In place of redress would de convention impose.
>
> Brave Vernon resolve deir proud enemies' ruin;
> But, instead of sending any forces to him,
> Both de French and Spanish fleets were let loose to undo him."

This famous "motion" was the subject of several other caricatures besides those mentioned above. One, entitled "The Funeral of Faction," was a satire on the opposition, and had beneath it the inscription "Funerals performed by Squire S——s" [Sandys]. Two or three are too gross to bear a description. The exultation of the ministerial party was shewn also in a few ballads, and in pamphlets in prose and verse. The old comparison of Sisyphus, who toiled everlastingly without approaching any nearer to the object of his labour, was again applied to the Patriots.

But this comparison was no longer true, for the days of Walpole's reign were already numbered. Age was creeping upon the veteran statesman; and that energy, with which for so many years he had discovered and defeated the intrigues of his enemies, seemed to be forsaking him. The Court party rated too high the triumph they had just obtained over the opposition, and lost themselves by their self-confidence.

On the 13th of March the news of the taking of Porto Bello by Vernon came to raise up the spirits of his party. The admiral was elected at the same time for several towns in the general elections in May, which were carried on with great violence, and in which it was evident that the so-called "country interest" was gaining ground. The utmost influence of the Prince of Wales, the heir-apparent, was exerted on this occasion. A print in compartments, entitled "The Humours of a Country Election," advertised in the newspapers of the 6th of May, 1741, represents the general demeanour of the candidates for popular favour, and is thus described in the "explanation" beneath:—"The candidates welcomed into the town by music and electors on horseback, attended by a mob of men, women, and children. The candidates saluting the women, and amongst them a poor cobbler's wife, very big with child, to whom they very courteously offer to stand godfather. The candidates very complaisant to a country clown, and offering presents to the wife and children. The candidates making an entertainment for the electors and their wives, to whom they shew great respect. At the upper end of the table, the parson of the parish sitting, his clerk standing by him. The members elect carried in procession on chairs upon men's shoulders, with music playing before them, and attended by a mob of men, women, and children, huzzaing them."* It will be seen that a great change had taken place since, under George I., complaints were first heard of the indecency of candidates soliciting the votes of the electors. The election at Westminster in 1741, at which Admiral Vernon was an unsuccessful candidate, being defeated by a large majority, presented a scene of tumultuous riot, and was the subject of a parliamentary investigation, carried on with much warmth, at the opening of the ensuing session. It also was the subject of caricature.

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* It appears, by the advertisements in the newspapers, that this caricature was published separately, and also stitched up with a pamphlet upon the elections. I have not been able to meet with the pamphlet, but a copy of the caricature is in the collection of Mr. Burke.

While faction was thus active at home, the affairs of the Continent were becoming every day more confused and complicated. The French diplomatists, since the breaking out of the war between England and Spain, had been actively employed, and with some success, in forming an European confederacy against the former power, when new fuel was thrown into the flames by the death of the Emperor Charles VI., on the 20th of October, 1740. By the Pragmatic Sanction, guaranteed by all the great powers of Europe, the emperor was to be succeeded in all his hereditary states by his daughter Maria Theresa, who was usually spoken of in England by the title of Queen of Hungary. At first, the Elector of Bavaria, who laid claim to a large portion of the Austrian inheritance, alone opposed her succession, on the pretence that the female line could not legally inherit. Next, the King of Prussia revived some old claims to Silesia, and invaded it with a powerful army. The King of France was anxious to obtain a share in the spoils; and, eventually, England was the only power which fulfilled its engagements towards the unfortunate queen, who, however, defended herself against the formidable confederacy with courage and resolution. In England the cause of Maria Theresa was very popular; and when her claims were brought before the Parliament, early in April, 1741, a subsidy of 300,000*l.* was readily granted for her; King George went over to Hanover, and assembled an army upon the Prussian frontier; and Russia was also induced to support the injured queen. But, in spite of this assistance, the Prussian army met with almost uninterrupted success, and Maria Theresa was forced to throw herself entirely upon the devotion of her Hungarian subjects. France, anxious now not only to share in the spoils, but to effect the grand dream of the politics of Louis XIV., the entire destruction of the house of Austria, declared herself more openly, and French armies were poured into Germany. The King of England, suddenly overcome with fear for his Hanoverian dominions, concluded a neutrality for one year, and returned to England without having done anything for his ally. The French and Bavarians thereupon threw themselves into Austria, and penetrating into Bohemia, captured Prague before it could be relieved; and there the Elector of Bavaria caused himself to be crowned King of Bohemia. Immediately afterwards, a diet assembled hurriedly at Frankfort elected him emperor as Charles VII. He was crowned in the February of 1742, when the cause of the Queen of Hungary seemed almost hopeless.

When the neutrality which George had accepted for Hanover became known in England, it raised the greatest excitement, and promised to give as strong a hold to the opposition as the convention, or even as the excise scheme. Numbers of pamphlets and ballads placed before the public the wrongs and misfortunes of the persecuted queen; and the English king was no more spared on this occasion than his ministers. In one ballad he was attacked under the title of the "Balancing Captain,"* who yearly, under one pretence or another, took to Hanover, (which had become a sort of bug-bear in Englishmen's ears,) all the money he could raise among his English subjects.

"I 'll tell you a story as strange as 'tis new,
Which all who 're concern'd will allow to be true,
Of a Balancing Captain, well known hereabouts,
Return'd home (God save him!) a mere king of clouts!

This Captain he takes, in a *gold*-ballasted ship,
Each summer to *terra damnosa* a trip,
For which he begs, borrows, scrapes all he can get,
And runs his poor *owners* most vilely in debt.

The last time he set out for this blessed place,
He met them, and told them a most piteous case,
Of a sister of his, who, though bred up at court,
Was ready to perish for want of support.

This *Hun-gry* sister, he then did pretend,
Would be to his owners a notable friend,
If they would at that critical juncture supply her.
They did—but, alas! all the fat 's in the fire!"

In the sequel of the ballad, which is a remarkable example of the seditious violence that characterised many of these productions, we are told that the Captain, having fingered the money, immediately made a peace with his sister's enemies, and left her to her fate:—

"He then turns his sister adrift, and declares
Her most mortal foes were her father's right heirs.
'G—d z—ds!' cries the world, 'such a step was ne'er taken!'
'Oh, ho!' says Noll Bluff, 'I have saved my own bacon!

---

* King George II., on account of his attachment to the army, was commonly designated by the Jacobites as "the Captain."

"'Let France damn the Germans, and undam the Dutch,
And Spain on Old England pish ever so much;
Let Russia bang Sweden, or Sweden bang that,—
I care not, by *Robert!* one *kick of my hat!*

* * * * * *

"'Or should my chous'd owners begin to look sour,
I'll trust to *mate Bob* to exert his old power,
Regit animos dictis, or *nummis*, with ease,
So, spite of your growling, I'll act as I please!'

The conduct of the Captain is represented as calculated to bring ruin on his owners, unless they look more closely into his proceedings:—

"This secret, however, must out on the day
When he meets his poor owners to ask for his pay;
And I fear, when they come to adjust the account,
A zero for balance will prove their amount."

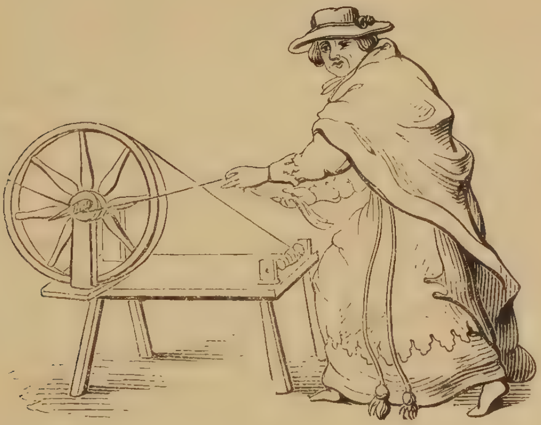
The caricatures on the affairs of the Queen of Hungary were very numerous, both on the Continent and in England; but the majority of the foreign ones appear to have been against her, while the English caricatures were all in her favour. In one, the background of which shews Prague bombarded, the Queen is represented as a ragged gipsy, (a pun upon the French word *Bohémienne*,) kneeling before the King

A ROYAL GIPSY.

of France, to whom she offers her jewels, with the prayer, "*Sire, ayez pitié d'une pauvre Bohémienne!*" The King, who thinks them worthy of the acceptance of his favourite mistress, replies disdainfully, "*Portez les à Pompadour.*" In another print, entitled "The Slough," of which there appeared several copies with slight variations, the Queen of Hungary is driven in a coach, with the King of France as coachman, Count Bruhl riding as postilion, and the new King of Poland holding on behind as lackey. They are running head foremost into a slough. The King of Prussia, who stands near in the character of a sentinel, asks, "Where are you going, Madame?" The Queen, in evident consternation, replies, "Ask my driver." In a third caricature, entitled "The Negotiators," the various powers who had interfered are represented as conspiring to ruin the Queen for their own aggrandisement. In another, entitled "The Consultation of Physicians; or, the Case of the Queen of Hungary," published in February, 1742, the French minister, Cardinal Fleury, in the character of a cunning physician, after having administered a strong dose of emetic, which is evidently producing its effects, is proceeding to bleed her with his pen. A print, entitled

THE CUNNING PHYSICIAN.

"French Pacification; or, the Queen of Hungary stript," published also in the beginning of February, 1742, seems to have had an especial popularity; and a number of imitations appeared, some under the simple title of "The Queen of Hungary stripped." The Queen is here represented in a state of complete nudity, while the different continental powers are carrying off portions of her garments, bearing the names of the different provinces of her empire. Cardinal Fleury, more pitiless than any, is in the act of depriving her even of the slight covering afforded by her own hand. The treacherous conduct of France is severely pointed at in these caricatures, some of which are not quite delicate. In one print, of a rather later date, while England is courteously attempting to assist the Queen over a stile or gate, France takes the moment of defenceless exposure to proceed to unwarrantable liberties. In another, entitled "The Parcæ; or, the European Fates," the intriguing cardinal is represented under the cha-



CARDINAL "LACHESIS."

racter of Lachesis, spinning the web of European politics, on a wheel which bears the title of "Universal Monarchy;" while King George, as Atropos, is cutting the thread.

KING "ATROPOS."

It was in the midst of this hurly-burly abroad, that Walpole's power was at length broken. The minister had lost much strength in the elections of 1741, chiefly in Scotland and Cornwall; and in one way or other the opposition had succeeded in making him unpopular. Long before the session of Parliament was opened, the opposition papers spoke with more than ordinary confidence of success, and they became proportionally violent in their personal attacks. The mob was encouraged, as they had been at the commencement of the reign of George I., to shew themselves on every favourable occasion. On the 12th of November Horace Walpole writes, "It is Admiral Vernon's birthday, and the city shops are full of favours, the streets of marrow-bones and cleavers, and the night will be full of mobbing, bonfires, and lights;" and he adds in a subsequent letter, "I believe I told you that Vernon's birthday passed quietly, but it was not designed to be pacific; for at twelve at night, eight gentlemen, dressed like sailors, and masked, went round Covent Garden with a drum, beating up for a volunteer mob; but it did not take, and they retired to a great supper that was prepared for them at the Bedford Head, and ordered by Whitehead, the author of ,Manners.'" Walpole seems to have been himself full of apprehension, for his son, who returned from his travels just in time to witness his father's defeat, writes of him on the 19th of October, that he who in former times "was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow, (for I have frequently known him snore ere they had drawn his curtains,) now never sleeps above an hour without waking; and he, who at dinner always forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all the company, now sits without speaking and with his eyes fixed for an hour together. Judge if this is the Sir Robert you knew."

The Parliament was opened on the 4th of December. On the 16th, on the election of a chairman of committees, by the desertion of some of his supporters and the absence of others, Walpole was in a minority of four. A day or two after he had only a majority of seven on an election petition; and on another election petition he was again in a minority. The minister seemed to cling to power more than ever, now that he was on the point of losing it; and, instead of taking the advice of his intimate friends, who urged him to resign, he made an unsuccessful attempt to gain over the Prince of Wales, and then resolved to make another effort to carry on in the House. On the 21st of January, after the Christmas holidays, Pulteney brought forward a motion with the same object as that of Sandys, which had been so triumphantly defeated not quite a year before. Walpole defended himself with as much vigour and eloquence as ever; but the motion was rejected only by a majority of *three*. On the 28th of January, again, on an election petition, he was defeated by a majority of one. Walpole now made up his mind to resign, and the next day announced his intention to the King. On a division upon the same petition on the 2nd of February, the opposition majority had increased to sixteen. On the 3rd the Houses were adjourned, at the King's request, for a fortnight; on the 9th Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford; and on the 11th he formally resigned all his places.

The intelligence of Walpole's resignation was received in some towns in the country with ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy; and there were mobs and bonfires in London; but, according to Horace Walpole, this feeling was much less general than might have been anticipated. The more violent of the opposition newspapers, however, teemed with ungenerous insults on the fallen minister: they held out threats of inquiry into his conduct, and talked of hunting him to the scaffold; and they advised him to follow the example of Bolingbroke, in flying from his country. Walpole was almost the only commoner who had ever been admitted to the order of the Garter, and his blue ribbon was an especial object of envious attack. The *Champion* of February 16, 1742, (a more scurrilous paper even than the *Craftsman*,) contains the following epigram, which may be taken as a sample of effusions to which the ex-minister was exposed daily:—

"Sir —— [*Robert*], his merit or interest to shew,
Laid down the red ribbon* to take up the blue:
By two strings already the knight hath been ty'd,
But when twisted at —— [*Tyburn*], the third will decide."

The more violent of the opposition went so far as to get petitions sent to the House, urging an impeachment; and, in a moment of triumph and excitement, it is difficult to foresee what might have been the result of such a measure, had not the King stood firm to his old friend, and made it to a certain degree a condition of the accession of his enemies to power, that they should screen him from persecution. The *Craftsman* and the *Champion* continued to assail their old enemy with scurrilous insults: the latter paper, on the 23rd of February, in double allusion to his former influence among the monied and mercantile interests, and his later unpopularity in the city of London, published the following paragraph:—"In regard to the good understanding which has so long subsisted between his *late honor* and the *city*, it is hoped that that great man, in *compliment* to his *old friends*, will pass through the principal streets thereof at noon, in an *open landau*, on his way to his PALACE of H——n." And the same violent journal, on the 17th of August, drags the veteran statesman from his retirement at Houghton:—"From the neighbourhood of H——n *palace*. We are informed that the *annual* NORFOLK CONGRESS is held there as usual, (though the *Gazetteer* has not been authorized to set forth a list of the Powers of which it is composed;) and that, if the *puffs* still continued in *pay* are to be depended upon, ways and means are *already* concerted to terminate the next winter's campaign as *successfully* as the last."

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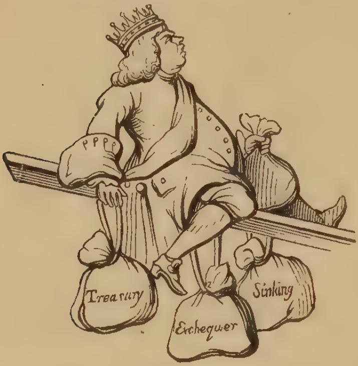
* Sir Robert was created knight of the newly-revived order of the Bath, before he received that of the Garter.

When Walpole was created Earl of Orford, his daughter by his second wife, but born before their marriage, was given precedency as an Earl's daughter by a separate patent, a measure which raised a great storm among the aristocracy of the opposition, and which excited odium even among the mob. An insulting poem, stated to be written by a lady of "real quality," was printed in folio, and distributed abroad, under the title of "Modern Quality; an Epistle to Miss M—— W——" [Maria Walpole.] This clamour, joined with the disappointment of the Tories and the young "Patriots," who were not allowed to share in the spoils, obliged the Court to agree, at the beginning of April, to the appointment of a secret committee to examine into the conduct of Walpole during the last ten years of his administration; but the inquiry led to no results of any importance. The populace, however, seem to have been indulged with the hope of a new state tragedy. On the 8th of April, Horace Walpole writes: "All this week the mob has been carrying about his effigies in procession and to the Tower. The chiefs of the opposition have been so mean as to give these mobs money for bonfires, particularly the Earls of Lichfield, Westmoreland, Denbigh, and Stanhope. The servants of these last got one of these figures, chalked out a place for the heart, and shot at it. You will laugh at me, who, the other day, meeting one of these mobs, drove up to it to see what was the matter. The first thing I beheld was a mawking in a chair, with three footmen, and a label on the breast, inscribed 'Lady Mary.'"

The disappointment of Walpole's persecutors, when they saw that there was no real intention of bringing him to what they called justice, shewed itself in newspaper paragraphs and ill-natured caricatures. The old device of the screen was brought up again, and was the subject of more than one print. In one of these, entitled "The Night-Visit; or, The Relapse; with the pranks of Bob Fox the Juggler, while steward to Lady Brit, displayed on a screen," the ex-minister is represented in council with the King at night. George seated at a table, demands of his old servant, "What is to be done?" Walpole replies, "Mix and divide them." Several other courtiers are introduced, consulting on the change of affairs, one of whom, who overhears the conversation just alluded to, remarks, "'Tis good advice!" Through the window are seen a party of men, who are not courtiers, gazing on the heavens with a telescope. One observes, "It must be a comet!" The other replies, "No, by Jove! 'tis Robin Goodfellow from R—chm—d!" [Richmond.] A third exclaims, "I wish the telescope was a gun!" The screen, forming the background of the picture, represents all the evil deeds with which Walpole was charged, and which are described at length in the "Explanation" printed at the foot. The last compartment represents a distant view of the gallows, with an axe, and a head elevated on a pole, the doom of traitors. The devil, for (to judge by the caricatures) all parties seem to have been convinced that Satan was busy among them, peeps from behind the screen, and cries out exultingly, "Hah! I shall have business here again!" This caricature is dated the 12th of April, 1742.

GOOD ADVICE.

On the 16th of November following, when the cry against Walpole was still kept up, a caricature was published, entitled "Bob, the Political Balance-Master." The fallen minister is here decked in his coronet and seated at one end of a balance held up by Britannia, who sits mourning over sleeping trade. At the other end of the balance sits Justice, who is unable to weigh down effectually the bulky peer, assisted as he is by his bags of treasure; but, in spite of this help, his position is critical, and in his terror he cries out to the Evil One, who appears above, "Oh! help thy faithful servant, Bob!" Satan gives him a look anything but encouraging, and, holding out an axe, replies to his invocation, "This is thy due!"



THE BALANCE-MASTER IN DANGER.

It was thus that party-spirit forgot, as it had so often done, the feelings of generosity and justice, and sought vengeance which could have no other object than that of gratifying personal hatred. Within no great length of time from these transactions, we shall find individuals, less powerfully defended, made sacrifices to the same unworthy spirit.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE II.

MINISTERIAL CHANGES AND PROMOTIONS.—UNPOPULARITY OF LORD BATH. — BATTLE OF DETTINGEN. — NEW CHANGES, AND THE "BROAD-BOTTOM." — THE REBELLION OF '45, AND ITS EFFECTS. — THE CITY TRAINED BANDS.—THE BUTCHER.—THE WESTMINSTER ELECTIONS.—NEW CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY.—CONGRESS AND PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—THE HOSTAGES. — NEW MINISTERIAL QUARRELS. — "CONSTITUTIONAL QUERIES." — DEATH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

In one of his speeches during the struggles in the House of Commons which preceded his fall, Walpole, analysing the strength of the opposition, had divided it into three classes, the Jacobites and Tories, the discontented Whigs, and the "Boys." The chiefs of the Tories in the House of Commons were Sir William Wyndham (now dead), "honest" Will. Shippen, and Sir John Hynde Cotton. The discontented Whigs were led in the Commons by Pulteney and Sandys, and in the Lords by Carteret and Argyle. Among the Boy Patriots—the young men who were marching fast towards power—were William Pitt, George Grenville, Sir George Lyttelton, and Henry Fox. In the moment of victory these discordant materials fell to pieces, and those who had individually done most towards driving Walpole's ministry out, the leaders of the old "Patriots," seemed now to think of nothing but providing for themselves. Pulteney, Carteret, and Sandys first secured places for themselves, before they looked any farther; and then, intimidated by the threatening looks of their old colleagues, they found minor offices for a few of the others. The Duke of Newcastle, (Walpole's jealous and treacherous colleague,) his brother Mr. Pelham, and Sir William Yonge were allowed to retain their places. Lord Wilmington was the nominal head of the new ministry; Lord Carteret was appointed secretary of state, and, by flattering the King's propensities, soon engrossed the royal favour. Pulteney took no place himself, but before the end of the session he followed Walpole into the other House, by the title of Earl of Bath; Sandys was made chancellor of the exchequer, and the Earl of Winchelsea was made first lord of the admiralty. The King, who had made a cold reconciliation with the Prince of Wales, acceded to these arrangements with an unwilling consent, and acted by the advice of Walpole, whom he consulted in secret. The position of the Monarch amid these changes is well described in a ballad, which made a great noise, published in the following October, and is understood to have been written by Lord Hervey, one of the old ministers who had lost his place :—

"O England, attend, while thy fate I deplore,
Rehearsing the schemes and the conduct of power;
And since only of those who have power I sing,
I am sure none can think that I hint at the King.

"From the time his son made him old Robin depose,
All the power of a King he was well known to lose;
But, of all but the name and the badges bereft,
Like old women, his paraphernalia are left.

"To tell how he shook in St. James's for fear,
When first these new ministers bullied him there,
Makes my blood boil with rage, to think what a thing
They have made of a man we obey as a King."

In the midst of the royal embarrassments Carteret comes to the Monarch's relief:—

> "At last Carteret arriving, spoke thus to his grief:
> 'If you 'll make me your doctor, I 'll bring you relief.
> You see to your closet familiar I come,
> And seem like my wife in the circle—at home.'
>
> "Quoth the King, 'My good lord, perhaps you 've been told
> That I used to abuse you a little of old;
> But now bring whom you will, and eke turn away,
> Let but me and my money and Walmoden stay.'*
>
> "'For you and Walmoden I freely consent,
> But as to your money, I must have it spent;
> I have promised your son (nay, no frowns) should have some,
> Nor think 'tis for nothing we Patriots come.'"

Carteret then goes on to declare the changes he must have in the ministry,—who are to be turned out, and who to be kept in. Among the latter, the only one of any consequence was the Duke of Newcastle:—

> "'Though Newcastle 's as false as he 's silly, I know,
> By betraying old Robin to me long ago,
> As well as all those who employ'd him before,
> Yet I leave him in place, but I leave him no power.
>
> "'For granting his heart is as black as his hat,
> With no more truth in this than there 's sense beneath that;
> Yet, as he 's a coward, he 'll shake when I frown—
> You call'd him a rascal, I 'll use him like one.
>
> "'And since his estate at elections he 'll spend,
> And beggar himself without making a friend;
> So whilst the extravagant fool has a sous,
> As his brains I can't fear, so his fortune I 'll use.'"

Among the new men to be brought in, the most important is Pulteney:—

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* The King's mistress, better known by her English title of Lady Suffolk. George II. is in serious history, as well as in popular satire, represented as of a very avaricious disposition.

"All that weathercock Pulteney shall ask we must grant,
For to make him a great noble nothing I want;
And to cheat such a man demands all my arts,
For though he's a fool, he's a fool with great parts.

"And, as popular Clodius, the Pulteney of Rome,
From a noble, for power, did plebeian become,
So this Clodius to be a patrician shall choose,
Till what one got by changing, the other shall lose."

The King is appeased by the flattery of his soldier-loving propensities:—

"'For, your foreign affairs, howe'er they turn out,
At least I'll take care you shall make a great rout:
Then cock your great hat, strut, bounce, and look bluff,
For, though kick'd and cuff'd here, you shall there kick and cuff.

"'That Walpole did nothing they all used to say,
So I'll do enough, but I'll make the dogs pay;
Great fleets I'll provide, and great armies engage,
Whate'er debts we make, or whate'er wars we wage.'

"With cordials like these, the Monarch's new guest
Revived his sunk spirits and gladden'd his breast;
Till in rapture he cried, 'My dear Lord, you shall do
Whatever you will,—give me troops to review.'"

The new ministers were bitterly satirised in a caricature entitled "The Promotion," and in a clever ballad by Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the great political balladist of the day, entitled "A New Ode to a great Number of great Men, newly made." The satire was most pointedly levelled at the new Lord Bath, who, in a few months, was exposed to more ridicule than his whole party had been able to heap upon Walpole during twenty years. He was every where looked upon as having betrayed his party for the bribe of a coronet. Some said that he had been lured into the snare by Walpole; others believed that he had been pushed into it by Carteret, who was jealous of his popularity; while many supposed that he had been urged into it by the vanity and avarice of his wife, to whom they gave the satirical title of "The Wife of Bath," and a ballad made upon her under that title is said to have given the Earl great annoyance.

It was the universal belief that Pulteney and his Patriot friends had purchased their elevation by an agreement to shield their predecessors, and to follow in their steps. A singular accident happened in July, which was quickly seized upon as a subject for a joke against the new ministers. "Last Sunday," Horace Walpole tells us in a letter of this period, "the Duke of Newcastle gave the new ministers a dinner at Claremont, where their servants got so drunk, that when they came to the inn over against the gate of New Park [now Richmond Park, of which Lord Walpole was ranger], the coachman, who was the only remaining fragment of their suite, tumbled off the box, and there they were planted. There were Lord Bath, Lord Carteret, Lord Limerick, and Harry Furnese in the coach. They asked the innkeeper if he could contrive no way to convey them to town; 'No,' he said, 'not he; unless it was to get Lord Orford's coachman to drive them.' They demurred; but Lord Carteret said, 'Oh, I dare say Lord Orford will willingly let us have him.' So they sent, and he drove them home." Horace says in the sequel of the letter, "Lord Orford has been at court again to-day: Lord Carteret came up to thank him for his coachman, the Duke of Newcastle standing by. My father said, 'My Lord, whenever the Duke is near overturning you, you have nothing to do but to send to me, and I will save you.'" The following ballad, attributed to Sir C. Hanbury Williams, was published on the occasion. Lord Bath, as the ex-writer in the *Craftsman*, retains his name of Caleb: the old coach and its driver, in the caricature of "The Motion," is not forgotten:—

" THE OLD COACHMAN.

" Wise Caleb and Carteret, two birds of a feather,
Went down to a feast at Newcastle's together:
No matter what wines or what choice of good cheer,
'Tis enough that the coachman had his dose of beer.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

" Coming home, as the liquor work'd up in his pate,
The coachman drove on at a damnable rate.
Poor Carteret in terror, and scared all the while,
Cried, 'Stop! let me out! is the dog an Argyle?'
Derry down, &c.

" But he soon was convinced of his error; for, lo!
John stopt short in the dirt, and no further would go.
When Carteret saw this, he observed with a laugh,
'This coachman, I find, is your own, my Lord Bath.'
Derry down, &c.

" Now the peers quit their coach in a pitiful plight,
Deep in mire, and in rain, and without any light;
Not a path to pursue, nor to guide them a friend—
What course shall they take then, and how will this end?
Derry down, &c.

" Lo! Chance, the great mistress of human affairs,
Who governs in councils, and conquers in wars;
Straight with grief at their case (for the goddess well knew
That these were her creatures and votaries too),—
Derry down, &c.

" This Chance brought a passenger quick to their aid,
'Honest friend, can you drive?'—'What should ail me?' he said.
'For many a bad season, through many a bad way,
Old Orford I 've driven without stop or stay.
Derry down, &c.

"'He was once overturn'd, I confess, but not hurt.'
Quoth the peers, 'It was we help'd him out of the dirt:
This boon to thy master, then, prithee requite,—
Take us up, or here we must wander all night.'
Derry down, &c.

"He took them both up, and through thick and through thin,
Drove away for St. James's, and brought them safe in.—
Learn hence, honest Britons, in spite of your pains,
That Orford, old coachman, still governs the reins.
Derry Down, &c."

The Duke of Argyle had at first insisted upon forming a ministry upon what he termed a "broad bottom," in which all classes of the old opposition were to have a place; but this plan was overthrown by the King's determined hatred of the Tories, who therefore continued in the opposition. The young Patriots, after several vain attempts to obtain places in the new ministry, joined them, and were even more violent against Lord Bath, who had fast sunk into what Lord Hervey termed a "noble nothing," than the Tories themselves. This party of the opposition, from their leaders being chiefly nephews and cousins of Lord Cobham, was sometimes designated as the "Nepotism." In the session of 1743 they renewed their attacks upon the old ministers, chiefly in the hope of embarrassing the new ones; but the latter not only had with them the main body of their party, but they were supported by the adherents of Walpole, and they carried their measures by large majorities, and often without divisions. During 1743 and 1744 there was less political agitation than the country had seen for many years; the old worn-out question of the Hanoverian troops and an act for the repeal of the Gin Act alone made any noise. Lord Bath bore the attacks of the press with far less equanimity than had been shewn by Walpole, and complained bitterly of "scurrilous libels." To him was commonly attributed a pamphlet, published early in 1743, under the title of "Faction detected," in which the opposition and its organs were severely attacked, and which made much noise for a short time, being roughly handled in some of the opposition papers.

At the close of the session the King went to Hanover, with his son the Duke of Cumberland and his now favourite minister Lord Carteret, and joined the army of English and Hanoverians under the Earl of Stair, which he had already ordered to cross the Rhine to assist the Queen of Hungary. The affairs of this Queen had, during the previous year, suddenly recovered from their desperate posture, and the French and Bavarians were now in their turn labouring under the reverses of war. England was nominally at peace with France, and her soldiers were only fighting under the banners of Austria. The Hanoverian army, which King George, the Duke of Cumberland, and Lord Carteret had just joined, was on its way to Hanau, when it was attacked at Dettingen by the French under the Duke de Noailles, who were signally defeated. A battle on land gained by English troops was a new thing in England, for there had been no war of any importance since the days of Marlborough, and the whole country resounded with exultation. Dettingen was in a moment the theme of every ambitious or popular scribbler, and pamphlets in prose and verse, ballads, and songs, and epigrams were showered upon the public. But amid this apparently universal joy were sown the seeds of political disagreement. The English troops were without provisions, and in an ill condition to fight;

and, though they did fight bravely, their loss had been severe. They complained that they had not been properly supported; for the horse, which was chiefly Hanoverian, had not behaved so well in the battle as the foot. The commander-in-chief, Lord Stair, had strongly urged that the enemy should be pursued; but his opinion was overruled by that of the foreign generals. A second remonstrance, after the troops had been refreshed, was equally unsuccessful; and the Earl, with several other officers, threw up their commissions in disgust and returned to England, where a great outcry was immediately raised. On the 22nd of October was published a caricature, under the title of "The Hanoverian Confectioner-General," in which the French are represented as flying from the field hotly pursued by the British. The former cry out, "S'ils nous poursuivent, nous sommes perdu!" The Earl of Stair, urging on the pursuit, shouts, "Pursue 'em, lads! and mow 'em awe!" The King, as the Hanoverian horse, riding on the starved British lion (a hard hit, as the discontented party had always said that England was starved to fatten Hanover,) cries out to the Hanoverian cavalry, "La victoire est gagnée, où vous êtes vous fourrés?" Their commander replies, "N'importe, j'ai conservé nos gens;" while his

THE BRITISH LION OUT OF ORDER.

soldiers exclaim, "We will not be commanded by the English!" An Austrian commander, who is equally urging the pursuit, calls them "cowardly mercenaries." A label from the lion's mouth bears the words "Starv'd on Bonpournicole."

The opposition, and many who were not actually in opposition, rejoiced in these divisions; they talked ironically of making Carteret commander-in-chief (he is said to have remained in his carriage in the neighbourhood of the battle all the day, without *showing any fear*, and he wrote a vaunting despatch); and jokes passed about on the trio of successive *Johns*—John Duke of Argyle, who had refused the place because he was not allowed to bring any Tories into the ministry, John Earl of Stair, and John Lord Carteret. The following lines "on the Johns" appeared in some of the papers:—

"John Duke of Argyle
We admired for a while,
Whose titles fell short of his merit.
His loss to repair,
We took John Earl of Stair,
Who like him had both virtue and merit.

"Now he too is gone;
Ah! what's to be done?
Such losses how can we supply?
But let's not repine;
On the banks of the Rhine
There's a third John his fortune will try.

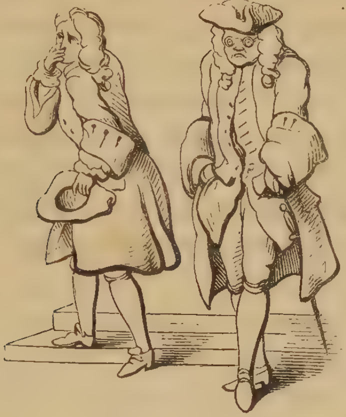
"By the Patriots' vagary
He was made S——; [*secretary*]
By himself he's P—— M—— [*prime minister*] made:
And now, to crown all,
He's made G——l, [*general*]
Though he ne'er was brought up to the trade."

At the same time the death of Lord Wilmington, who had presided at the Treasury board, gave rise to new changes in the ministry, in which Lord Orford's secret influence soon overthrew the schemes of Carteret and Lord Bath. Pelham, who had held the office of Paymaster of the forces, became first Lord of the Treasury, and was allowed to bring into inferior places his friends Henry Fox and Lord Middlesex. Lord Gower resigned the Privy Seal, which was given to Lord Cholmondeley. Pelham also obtained the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was taken from Sandys, who was appeased with a place in the household and a peerage. The following verses on "the Triumvirate" in the *London Magazine* for January, 1744, (the magazine which had been set up in opposition to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and which had been from the first the monthly advocate of the country party,) shew the public estimation in which Carteret, Sandys, and Pulteney (Lord Bath) stood at that time:—

"John, Sam, and Will combined of late
To form a new triumvirate;
To share authority and money,
Like Cæsar, Lepidus, and Toney.
But mark what follow'd from this union:—
John left his countrymen's communion,
And, though in office he appear'd,
Was neither honour'd, loved, or fear'd.
Sam in the sunshine buzz'd a little;
Then sank in power, and rose in title.
Will with a title out would set,
But place or power ne'er could get.
So Will and Sam obscure remain'd,
And John with general odium reign'd."

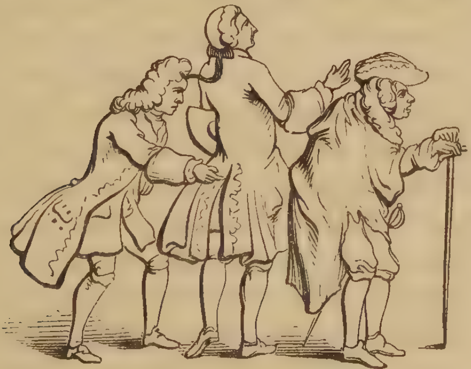
Towards autumn it became publicly known that serious dissensions existed in the Cabinet between

Carteret, who had now by his mother's death become Earl Granville, and the Pelhams; and, in the sequel, the Duke of Newcastle and his brother compelled the King to dismiss Granville, who had lost his political influence, on the 23rd of November. Lord Winchelsea, General Cavendish, and the other Lords of the Admiralty, with some other inferior placemen, also resigned. The Pelhams now effected their long-projected plan of a "broad-bottomed" cabinet. Lord Harrington succeeded to the place of Lord Granville; the Jacobite Sir John Hynde Cotton was made Treasurer of the Chamber in the royal household; the Tory Lord Gower was made Privy Seal; Lyttelton obtained a seat at the Treasury board; Bub Dodington was appointed Treasurer of the Navy; Pitt joined in supporting the Government, on the promise of being made Secretary at War as soon as the King's personal antipathy could be overcome; and Lord Chesterfield, who was also personally disliked by the King, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; the Duke of Bedford was made first Lord of the Admiralty, with the Earl of Sandwich as second Commissioner; and Mr. Grenville was made one of the junior Lords of the same board. The arrangement of the Admiralty seems to have given most difficulty from the number of applicants; and it formed the subject of a caricature, entitled "Next Sculls at the Admiralty," published on the 27th of December, 1744, which contains a number of figures, all evidently intended for portraits. In the back is a view of the Admiralty, with Winchelsea, Cavendish, and their colleagues "going out." Winchelsea, with his characteristic spectacles, advances forwards, gravely observing, "We shall see," (apparently a pun upon his name;) while Cavendish, with his hand raised to his mouth in the attitude of bidding adieu, and exclaiming "I must eat," turns off



GOING OUT.

to one side. One of the groups in front, of those who are "coming in," or wanting to come in, represents to the left the Duke of Bedford in a stooping



COMING IN.

posture, exclaiming "Bed for 't." In the middle the tall upright figure of Anson, who had in the course of the year arrived from his circumnavigation of the world, says, "Round the world and not in."* Before him, an older man resting on a staff, but not so easily identified, cries out "Next scull!" In this "broad-bottomed" coalition every party, except the small number of adherents of Carteret and Lord Bath, had a representative; and the consequence was, that, during the ensuing session, there was scarcely a division. Lord Orford, who had been called to town by the King to give him his advice in his ministerial embarrassments, returned to Houghton, and died there on the 18th of March, 1745.

This "broad-bottomed" ministry had, however, very little substantial unanimity in itself; the chief tie by which its members were linked together seems to have been the mere love of place, to which they had sacrificed the principles that many of them had been supporting boisterously for so many years; and, if there was not much opposition in the House, there was abundance of dissatisfaction without. During the formation of this ministry, Horace Walpole represents the aspirants to place as standing like servants at a country fair to be hired; and he adds, "One has heard of the corruption of courtiers; but, believe me, the impudent prostitution of patriots, going to market with their honesty, beats it to nothing. Do but think of two hundred men, *of the most consummate virtue,* setting themselves to sale for three weeks!" Within a few days after the publication of the caricature mentioned above, on the 15th of January, appeared a "New Ballad," entitled the "Place-book; or, the Year 1745," which was soon followed by a bitter lampoon on the people in power, under the title of "The Triumvirate; or, broad-bottomry." Several other caricatures, among which we may particularise one, entitled "The Claims of the Broad-bottoms," exhibit the venality complained of by Horace Walpole. The ministry soon became distracted by internal jealousies and dissensions; and these, with the disappointments of the old Tories, again raised the spirit of Jacobitism, which had been so long kept under by the policy of Sir Robert Walpole. The partizans of the exiled family abroad were further encouraged by the battle of Fontenoy, which, though not inglorious to the British arms, was a defeat, and was exaggerated beyond measure in France, Spain, and Italy.

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* Anson had a rough unpolished manner, and it was said jokingly of him, that he had been all round the world, but not in it. He had amassed great wealth by his voyage.

In the summer of 1745 the minstrel of the north began again to chaunt aloud his hatred to King George and the Whigs, and his wishes for the return of the Stuarts. The arrival of Prince Charles Edward, the young Pretender, on the coast of the highlands of Scotland, in the latter days of July, was the signal for the rising of the clans, and he soon found himself at the head of an army the more formidable, because the authorities in Scotland were taken by surprise, and not only that country but England itself were in no posture of defence. Having passed the small English army under Sir John Cope, the Pretender entered Perth in triumph on the 4th of September; and in the middle of the same month, still leaving Cope behind him, he obtained possession of Edinburgh. On the 21st Cope was defeated in the brief but celebrated battle, known as that of Preston Pans, from whence, with a small portion of his army, he fled to Berwick, and Scotland was left almost in the power of the rebels. After remaining some time in Edinburgh, the castle of which was still in the hands of the English garrison, the Pretender began his march on the 1st of November, with an army considerably reinforced by new supplies of Highlanders, towards the English border, and, crossing the Tweed at Kelso, moved directly into Cumberland; and the Scots made themselves masters of Carlisle on the 15th, and proceeding into Lancashire they reached Preston on the 27th and Wigan on the 28th, and the same day an advanced party entered Manchester. By this time, however, the royal troops were in motion, numerous volunteers were armed in most of the southern and eastern counties, and Dutch and English troops, under the Duke of Cumberland, had been hastily brought over from the Continent; so that, by the time the rebels had reached Derby, they became aware of the perils with which they were surrounded, and made a rapid retreat, closely pursued, towards Scotland. Prince Charles re-crossed the border on the 20th of December, and his army was collected together at Glasgow by the end of the year. On the 17th of January the English troops in Scotland met with as signal a defeat on Falkirk Moor as they had previously experienced at Preston Pans; but better troops and more experienced commanders were rapidly approaching the scene of action, and the hopes of the Jacobites in Scotland were destined to have a speedy and fatal conclusion.

In England the contradictory and vague information daily spread abroad caused the greatest consternation, ill concealed even to us by the contemptuous manner in which the press generally treated the rebellion. The citizens of London shewed their fears rather than their courage by their anxious precautions; and their alarm was so great on the day when intelligence was brought of the advance of the rebels to Derby, and of their consequent position between the Duke of Cumberland's army and the metropolis, as to cause it to be long remembered as the "Black Friday." A rush was made upon the Bank, the fatal effects of which it is said to have escaped only by the expedient of refusing to pay in any other coin than sixpences, which enabled the directors to gain time until the panic was over. The songs of exultation and scorn which resounded in Scotland were, however, replied to by satirical caricatures and loyal songs, of which there was no want in the south. In one of the former the British lion is represented as the true support of King George and the Protestant succession against the designs of the French King. The Pretender addresses the King of France, the Pope, and the devil, who were looked upon popularly as the grand encouragers of this enterprise, "We shall never be a match for George, while that lion stands by him."

THE PROTESTANT CHAMPION.

The popularity of the Pretender was not assisted in England by the belief that he was bringing with him the religious principles of Rome and the political principles of France. The feeling on this subject is strongly exhibited in a caricature, entitled "The Invasion; or, Perkin's triumph," in which the Pretender is represented triumphantly driving in the royal stage-coach, drawn by six horses, which are named Superstition, Passive Obedience, Rebellion, Hereditary Right, Arbitrary Power, and Non-resistance, and riding over Liberty and all the public funds. The Pope acts as postilion, and the King of France as coachman; two monkeys and the devil perform the office of footmen, and various disastrous consequences of the success of the rebellion are represented in different parts of the picture. A group of Scottish soldiers follow a standard, on which are figured a pair of wooden shoes and the motto "Slavery." St. James's palace occupies the background, with Westminster Abbey on one side, and on the other Smithfield and a martyr at the stake. This print was from the pencil and graver of C. Mosley.

Another print is entitled "Britons' Association against the Pope's Bulls," and was published on the 21st of October, 1745. The river Tweed divides the picture in two. On one side the Pretender is trying to force over the river an importation of bulls, from the mouths and nostrils of which issue lightning mixed with decretals, "massacres," "rods and whips," "everlasting curses," the "fire of purgatory," &c. The Pretender, with the exclamation "Now or never!" holds by the horns, and drags towards the river,

AN IMPORTATION.

a bull laden with indulgences, penances, confessions, absolutions, holy water, and a whole cargo of such Popish furniture. In the distance Edinburgh Castle appears, well manned with loyal troops, and beneath it a group of Highlanders following their standard with some reluctance, their different opinions shewing the want of unanimity in the directors of the rebellion. One says "I'll go home!" while his companion cries "To Newcastle!" and the recommendation of a third to "Cross the Tweed" is backed by the words "Good plunder!" uttered by another. The devil, booted and spurred, and mounted on a broomstick, approaches this group, and accuses them of treason, adding, "I'll tell France, Spain, and the Pope." The other side of the picture represents a troop of volunteers, issuing from a city gate, (perhaps intended to represent London,) and preparing to hinder the Pretender from invading their land. They are led by a man armed with a spear and equipped as a commander, who proclaims, somewhat ostentatiously, "I'm your independent officer!" One, who does not seem very eager in advancing, cries, "King and country! Shop and family!" A drummer says, "I won't go out of the parish!" His next companion, with more valour, exclaims, "O God, I'd go five miles to fight!" while another moves on rather doggedly, with an exclama-

AN INDEPENDENT OFFICER.

tion of regret, "I wish they'd go to dinner!" This portion of the print appears intended to convey no very flattering picture of the courage and zeal which are supposed to have characterised the volunteer defenders of their country in this pressing emergency. In the distance we have a view of the ocean covered with British shipping, and Britannia seated on an islet and encouraged by Neptune. This print, which is tolerably well executed, and is a fair example of the style of caricatures of this period, is accompanied by the following verses, more remarkable for reason than rhyme:—

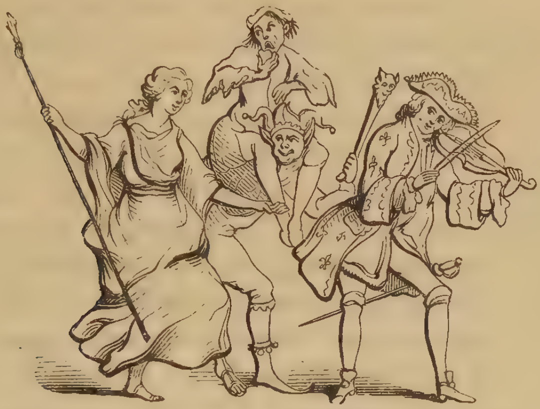
"I Perkin, young and bold,
My father me has sent here;
He is himself too old,
And tim'rous, too, to venture.

"His spirit sad '15
To break did much contribute,
When many friends were seen
To grace the fatal gibbet.

"He open'd then his coffers,
And shew'd 'em what rewards
To those he freely offers,
Who'd seize the king and guards.

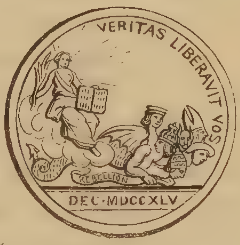
"Pack up your awls, and post,
And homewards wisely run;
Or in a month at most,
By George, you'll be undone!"

Another caricature published at this period was entitled "The Plagues of England; or, the Jacobites' folly," and was aimed especially at the conduct of our French allies on this occasion. The Pope, the devil, and the Pretender are here raised up as idols, and worshiped by Jacobite devotees. The King of France acts as fiddler, while Britannia is seen dancing to a French tune, led by Folly, who is carrying Poverty on his back.



BRITANNIA DANCING TO A NEW TUNE.

Behind them, Industry lies "neglected" and almost famished. A satirical medal, in the collection of Mr. W. D. Haggard, represents on the reverse the same personages as those which the caricatures figure as the prime movers of the rebellion, (the Pope, the devil, and their associates,) here overcome by the force of truth. The obverse exhibits a bust of the King in armour, with the inscription "Georgius II. d. g. Rex."



REBELLION DEFEATED.

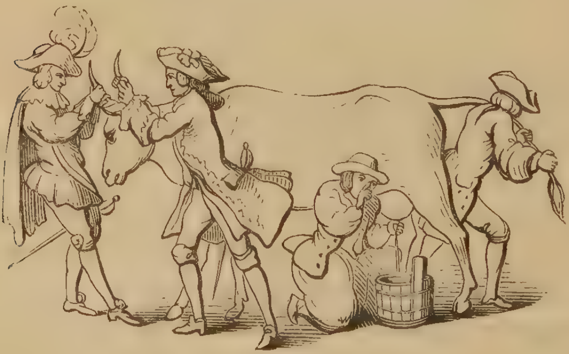
A caricature, which had been published in the March of this year, when the Jacobite rising was already foreseen, but it was at least wished to be believed that the grand conciliation of "broad-bottomry" would be a sufficient defence against it, represented the King on his throne, attended by his two sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cumberland. On each side, the Lords and Commons are offering their swords and fortunes for the defence of the crown. In the foreground, a party of Jacobite conspirators are unmasking themselves and taking to flight. One cries "All 's lost!" another, "Detected!" a third, "D—n their unanimity!" and so on. On the walls of the apartment are two pictures, one representing English bull-dogs fighting among themselves; while, in the other, they are united in attacking a bull, distinguished as "the Pope's bull;" the inscription which runs under the two paintings is, "English Bull-dogs, united against the Enemy." This print, entitled "Court and Country united against the Popish Invasion," is dated the 6th of March, 1744, (*i. e.* 1744-5.)

This unanimity, however specious in appearance, was but an imaginary one, and we shall soon find the pretended patriotism of ministers and placemen giving way to their personal interests and jealousies in the very midst of the dangers which threatened their country. The question of national rights and liberties, which wise men saw involved, was looked upon as a secondary matter by those whose only banner was political or religious party, or the still more unworthy one of place and emolument. In a print which appeared in the autumn of 1745, under the title of "A Hint to the Wise; or, the surest way with the Pretender," the church militant is represented on one side offering but a weak resistance to the Pretender, while the standard of broad-bottom, set up by the courtiers against the Jacobites, promises no great strength of resistance, but the mass of the people crowd together to fight successfully under the banner of liberty. The Church was represented by Herring, Archbishop of York, who, after the defeat of Sir John Cope at Preston Pans, had exhibited extraordinary activity in raising and reviewing in person the volunteers of his diocese, though his troops did no great service in the sequel. The warlike prelate is represented in a caricature, entitled "The Mitred Soldier; or, the Church Militant." The raising of volunteers was carried on with the more activity, as it was made a profitable job even by many of the nobility, who obtained the pay of officers in the army. In one county the fox-hunters were formed into a corps and armed. One of the Scottish Jacobite (or at least semi-Jacobite) songs of the day gives the following amusing description of the forces collected together from all quarters to suppress the rebellion:—

"Horse, foot, and dragoons, from lost Flanders they call,
With Hessians and Danes, and the devil and all;
And hunters and rangers led by Oglethorpe;
And the Church, at the bum of the Bishop of York.
And, pray, who so fit to lead forth this parade,
As the babe of Tangier, my old grandmother Wade?
Whose cunning 's so quick, but whose motion 's so slow,
That the rebels march'd on, while he stuck in the snow!"

Cope himself, the object of so much satire in the Scottish Jacobite songs, was not spared in the English caricatures, one of which, entitled "A race from Preston Pans to Berwick," is accompanied by a parody on the well-known old ballad against Sir John Suckling. Among the many whose behaviour at this time exposed them to satire, the Duke of Newcastle, whose conduct as minister had made him a general object of derision, was not spared; he was well known to be attached to the pleasures of the table, and was one of the few who then kept French cooks, and on his own cook, named Cloe, who was both a Frenchman and a Catholic, he set especial store: it was pretended that this hero of the kitchen would be included in the proclamation ordering Papists and others to be removed from the metropolis, and the chagrin of the Duke was pourtrayed in a caricature, entitled "The Duke of Newcastle and his (French) Cook," in which the Duke is made to exclaim "O Cloe! if you leave me, I shall be starved!"

This rebellion, while it caused in England more fear than hurt, had been a very advantageous diversion for our enemies abroad, and our foreign relations were suffering considerably. Even the Dutch had entered into a neutrality, and gave no further assistance than they were absolutely obliged to do by the strict words of existing treaties. A caricature, published on the 26th of December, 1745, under the title of "The Benefit of Neutrality," was especially directed against our allies of Holland. France, Spain, and England were represent-

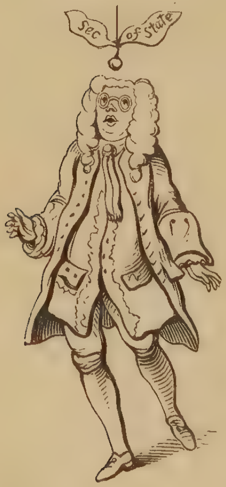


THE BENEFIT OF NEUTRALITY.

ed as struggling to obtain more shadowy advantages, while Holland in the meantime was enriching herself with the substance :—

> " Ambitious France and haughty Spain
> Unite, the horns of power to gain ;
> Against them England drags the tail,
> While the sly Dutchman fills his pail."

In the beginning of the year 1746 the war in Scotland continued to be carried on in the same careless and unskilful manner, which, in the previous year, had chiefly contributed to the temporary success of the insurrection, until, towards the end of January, the Duke of Cumberland was sent to the north to take the command of the English forces. The Prince had scarcely arrived in Scotland, when he received intelligence that the discontent of persons and party in the south had broken out in a ministerial revolution. Lord Granville still enjoyed in private the King's favour and confidence, and was suspected of secretly thwarting many of the ministerial measures. It was said to have been by his advice that the King neglected the Scottish rebellion so long, and thus allowed it to gain head. The ministers, on the other hand, eager to get rid of Granville's influence, made an attempt to turn out those of that party who still remained in office, and bring in more of their own supporters. The King refused to accede to their wishes on this point, and, perceiving from other symptoms that Lord Granville's party was intriguing against them, on the 10th of February the Pelham administration resigned. Lord Granville madly undertook to form a new administration, and Lord Bath accepted the Treasury and Exchequer, Lord Carlisle the Privy Seal, and Lord Winchelsea returned to the Admiralty. But this strange administration went no farther, for its chief, finding himself without influence in the Houses, and seeing that it was impossible to carry on, made a sudden retreat, after having remained in power only three days. The old administration were restored immediately to their places, and the King, feeling his own weakness, gave up his friend Granville to their resentment, and allowed them to bring in those whom, a few days before, he had positively refused to admit to his councils. Among these was William Pitt, who was making rapid strides towards that eminence and popularity which has given him so much celebrity as Earl of Chatham. One of the best caricatures relating to these transactions was published in March, under the title of "The noble Game of Bob-cherry, as it was lately played by some unlucky boys at the Crown, in St. James's parish." It appears to have been a very popular print, for there are two or three different copies of it, probably pirated editions, with some variations in the figures and grouping. The would-be ministers are represented as jumping at offices represented by cherries, whilst the chief members of the late administration and some of their friends are looking on. Lord Winchelsea, known by the capacious wig for which he was celebrated, and his spectacles, is making a jump at a cherry labelled



BOB-CHERRY.

as Secretary of State. Lord Bath has just made an unsuccessful attempt at another, which is labelled "High Treasurer;" and Chief Justice Willes is preparing to jump at one marked "High Chancellor." The Earl of Granville, who had swallowed a cherry marked "Secretary of State," is seized with a fit of sickness, which obliges him to disgorge it. Behind him stands the old Tory and half Jacobite, Sir John Hynde Cotton, holding a cherry in his hand, and looking with a smile at the efforts of the eager candidates for the others. Cotton had already obtained a place in the ministry, and he seems to have cared little for the changes which were taking place. William Pitt and Mr. Walpole are standing by, laughing at the vain efforts of the candidates for cherries; and on the other side of the picture the two brothers and ex-ministers, the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, are looking quietly on. Among the numerous political pamphlets and prints brought forth by this sufficiently ridiculous transaction, we may specify, "A History of the Long Administration," published in a very diminutive size, "price one penny."

A CHERRY IN HAND.

The Duke of Cumberland, who was warmly attached to the old Whig principles, to which he looked for the support of his House on the throne, and who had been alarmed by the intelligence of the ministerial crisis, was relieved from all his fears, when, a few days afterwards, he heard of the restoration of the Pelhams, and he proceeded vigorously with the work with which he was now entrusted in the north. The fear and anxiety which had so long prevailed throughout England were entirely expelled by the news of the sanguinary and fatal battle of Culloden, fought on the 16th of April; and for several weeks the English papers and prints were filled with nothing but congratulatory poems and songs on the Duke of Cumberland, and satires on the unfortunate Scots; and these subjects, with the trials and executions of the rebels, occupied public attention through this and a great part of the following year. It need hardly be stated that the weak, and we may probably add worthless, Pretender, after passing through many dangers and hardships, disappointed his enemies by making good his escape to France. One of the English ballads sums up his enterprise, by telling us punningly that

> "His descent was from Sky,* as thereby he 'd declare,
> His design was strange castles to build in the air."

London had, during these events, presented a strange physiognomy. With perhaps more general excitement, there was less of street-mobbing than in 1715; but the conviction of danger seems to have been stronger. The pamphlet shops were filled with tracts against Popery and tyranny, and similar publications were hawked about the streets; and the newspapers spread abroad daily a new cargo of exciteable matter. The *Penny London Post*, for example, had the words "No Pretender! No Popery! No slavery! No arbitrary power! No wooden shoes!" printed round its margins in conspicuous letters. Prints, exhibited in the shop windows, represented the Popish cruelties and massacres, the ceremony of cursing by bell, book, and candle, and a variety of similar performances, which, it was said, were to be re-enacted on the Pretender's arrival in the metropolis. In the beginning of 1746, although the Pretender had returned to Scotland, yet the danger was so far from being believed to be entirely averted, that the newspapers and magazines gave directions and illustrative figures for exercising volunteers in the use of their arms. The gates of London were regularly closed at an early hour in the evening, and the city trained bands were kept in constant movement. Troops, both regulars and volunteers, were brought together in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, and a strong camp was formed on Finchley Common to protect this part of the kingdom from danger. Yet, in spite of all these precautions and preparations, Jacobite agents were actively employed in spreading sedition even in London: numbers of people were arrested, as in 1715, for drinking the health of the Pretender; ballad-women and low persons were seen vending seditious papers, not only in the streets of London, but in the very heart of the camp; and, in the latter, agents of the Pretender were actually detected in attempting to seduce the soldiers from their duty. It is not suprising, that, in such a state of things, the victory of Culloden should have given universal and deep-felt joy, and that the victor should have become widely popular throughout England. Within a few months the Duke of Cumberland's head was a tavern sign in every country town; and his name contributed to give popularity to one of the prettiest of our common garden-flowers. Some verses, current at this time, told us that

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* The Young Pretender first put foot on Scottish ground in the isle of Skye.

> "The pride of France is *lilly* white;
> The *rose* in June is Jacobite;

The prickly *thistle* of the Scot
Is northern knighthood's badge and lot;
But, since the Duke's victorious blows,
The *lilly*, *thistle*, and the *rose*
All droop and fade, all die away,
Sweet-William only rules the day—
No plant with brighter lustre grows,
Except the laurel on his brows."

"The agreeable Contrast between the British Hero and the Italian Fugitive," a caricature published shortly after this event, represents the Pretender on one side, his hopes defeated and broken, and on the other the portly Duke, who exclaims, "Britain gave me life; for her safety I will readily risk it!" Underneath is inscribed the distich—

"Here happy Britain tells her joyful tales,
And may again since William's arm prevails."

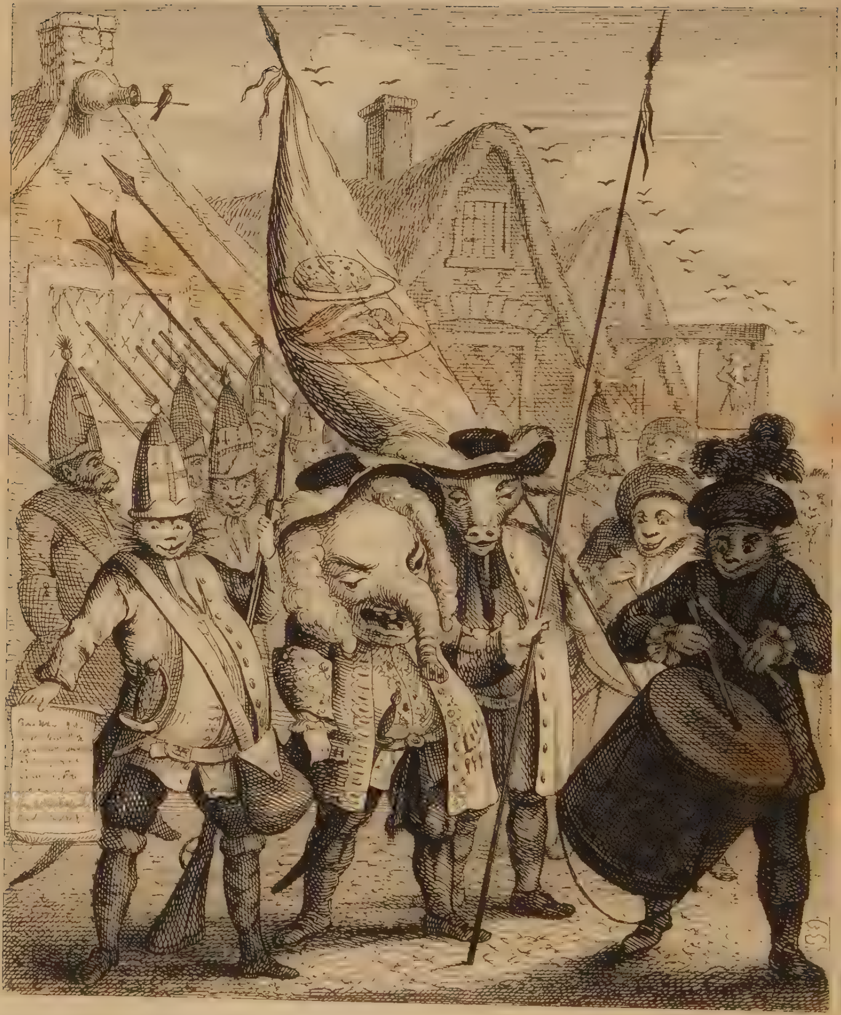
It was this period of agitation which suggested to Hogarth the admirable picture of the march of the guards to Finchley, on their way to the north against the Scots. The disorder and want of discipline, which characterised the movements of the troops on this occasion, are shewn in the most striking manner. Here you have a group in which the actors appear unconscious of the riot and confusion with which they are surrounded: it represents, we are told, a French spy, who is communicating to a disguised Jacobite a letter of intelligence, announcing that the King of France had sent ten thousand men to the assistance of his party.

PRIVATE INTELLIGENCE.

There, theft and dishonesty and licentiousness, though on a small scale, tell us but too plainly of the low moral character of the British army a hundred years ago. Here, again, a sturdy grenadier is exposed to a disagreeable cross-fire from a brace of females, who are selling ballads. An old explanation of this engraving states that these are the soldier's wife, whom he has deserted, and a woman whom he has deceived, and that they are upbraiding him for his treachery and inconstancy; but they are evidently two ballad-singers of different political parties, for one carries a paper inscribed "God save our noble King," and a print of the Duke of Cumberland, while the other holds up a number of the *Remembrancer*, a journal in opposition to the Government. Hogarth's print was given to the world in 1750, several years after the events it commemorates: the painting was exhibited to George II., as it is said, at that monarch's own request; but his only feeling appears to have been that of anger, that his favourite soldiers should be exposed to ridicule, and he returned it without an observation. Hogarth, indignant at the little patronage he received from the Court, satirically dedicated his engraving to the King of Prussia.

CROSS-FIRE.

There were, however, soldiers exposed to much greater ridicule than those who on this occasion marched through Finchley, or even than those who had fled at Preston and Falkirk, and those were the warriors of the city companies, the trained bands of London. The municipal troops of the capital, which had presented so formidable an array in the middle ages, and which had acted no unimportant part in the civil commotions of the seventeenth century, had degenerated from their ancient character; but they still continued to be mustered and exercised for the defence of the metropolis, and during the earlier part of the century they had been from time to time drawn out in the outskirts of the town to perform battles and sieges, in harmless imitation of the movements of the more dangerous armies on the Continent. They were especially active during the first years after the accession of the House of Hanover to the English throne, and the newspapers of that period contain frequent paragraphs detailing satirically their pretended exploits. As late as the year 1731, *Read's Weekly Journal*, of September 11, announces, that, "On Tuesday, the Cripplegate, Whitechapel, St. Clement's, and Southwark grenadiers rendezvous'd in Bridgewater Gardens; from whence they marched through the city, and afterwards attacked Cripplegate, both posterns, and Great Moorgate, with *their usual bravery*, and thence proceeded to attack a dunghill near Bunhill Fields, which gloriously completed their exercise of arms." We have already seen these domestic troops, in a caricature on the invasion of the Pretender, exhibited as loving better the enjoyments of home than the rude service of war. They figure in the last plate of Hogarth's series of the "Idle and Industrious Apprentices," and in several caricatures of the time. In one of these, in the collection of Mr. Burke, (without date or title,) these



THE TRAINED BANDS

[illegible] v. 1848

city troops appear, some of them, armed with pipes as well as guns; others on duty in undress, and some deficient of legs and eyes. A large and rather well-drawn caricature, also in the possession of Mr. Burke, and of which the accompanying engraving is a reduced copy, represents these troops under the characters of different animals, led by the self-important and ponderous elephant, with the hog for a standard-bearer, their device being the good roast beef and plum-pudding of Old England. They are assembled at the sign of the Hog-in-Armour,* and one of the troop carries a bill with the proclamation—

TRAINED BANDS.

"Come, taylers and weavers,
And sly penny shavers,
All haste and repair
To the Hog in Rag Fair,
To 'list in the pay
Of great Captain Day,
And you shall have cheer,
Beef, pudding, and beer."

Underneath this print, which is dated in 1749, are the lines:—

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* There was an inn with the sign of the Hog-in-Armour on Saffron Hill. It may be observed, that, as the figures are all left-handed, and the city arms reversed, the artist probably drew the sketch on copper without reversing it; so that, as far as it may be supposed to represent a locality, it is reversed in the print. This was an ordinary practice with Hogarth, many of whose prints are thus reversed.

> "Hark, now the drum assaults our ears,
> Thus beating up for volunteers;
> Who fight, besiege, and storm amain,
> And yet are never hurt or slain.
> Sad work! should this tame army meet
> The late pacific Spithead fleet." *

As the dangers of the Rebellion passed over, the Pelham administration, shaken internally by personal jealousies and intrigues, began to be assailed from without by the outcries of a violent, if not a powerful opposition. It was supported by its great parliamentary influence, which the accession of William Pitt to office had rendered complete; and it was carried on with quite as much corruption as had ever characterised the government of Sir Robert Walpole. The breaking out of the Rebellion had furnished an excuse for the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act; and the power thus obtained being exercised more frequently against those who attacked the ministry than against the enemies of the Crown, had increased the unpopularity of the former. William Pitt, who had not long touched a legacy of 10,000*l.*, left him by the old Duchess of Marlborough for his "patriotic" opposition to the favourite measures of the Hanoverian dynasty, followed the example of so many patriots who had preceded him, and was assailed on every side for the "unembarrassed countenance" with which he suddenly, on his admission to office, advocated the very measures he had been condemning so long and with so much perseverance. In the caricatures of the day, the ghost of the deceased Duchess is represented as reproaching him for his apostacy. The "unembarrassed countenance" was the subject of a caricature and of a ballad. The latter sneers at the eloquence of "a fellow who could talk and could prate," and tells us how, before his accession to the ministry,

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* Alluding to a recent naval expedition, which had returned without performing any exploit of consequence.

> "He bellow'd and roar'd at the troops of Hanover,
> And swore they were rascals who ever went over;
> That no man was honest who gave them a vote,
> And all that were for them should hang by the throat.
> Derry down, &c."

By his apparent zeal in this cause he soon extended his popularity through the land.

> "By flaming so loudly he got him a name,
> Though many believed it would all end in shame;
> But nature had given him, ne'er to be harass'd,
> *An unfeeling heart, and a front unembarrass'd.*
> Derry down, &c.
>
> "When from an old woman, by standing his ground,
> He had got the possession of ten thousand pound,
> He said that he cared not what others might call him,
> He would shew himself now the true son of Sir Balaam.*
> Derry down, &c."

Reproaches or rebukes had little effect upon him, we are told, whether they came from friend or foe; and, having once cast the die, he outdid every one in his barefaced dereliction of his former principles.

> "Young Balaam ne'er boggled at turning his coat,
> Determin'd to share in whate'er could be got;
> Said, 'I scorn all those who cry, impudent fellow!
> As my front is of brass, I'll be painted in yellow.' †
> Derry down, &c.

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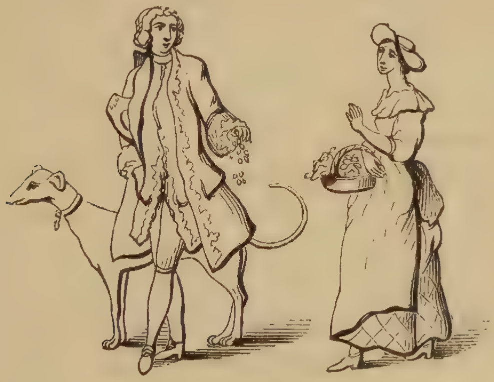
* An allusion to the character of Sir Balaam in Pope's Moral Essays, Epist. iii. l. 339—360.

† A list of the names of those who voted for the Hanover troops, two years before, which Pitt had then vehemently opposed, and which he now as vehemently advocated, had been printed in *yellow* characters.

> "Since yellow 's the colour that best suits his face,
> Old Balaam aspires at an eminent place;
> May he soon in Cheapside stand fix'd by the legs,
> His front well adorn'd and daub'd over with eggs.
> Derry down, &c."

Pitt's apostacy was celebrated in other ballads equally bitter, and he was violently attacked in the opposition papers, especially in an evening paper entitled *The National Journal, or Country Gazette*, which was commenced on the 22nd of March, 1746, and the object of which seems to have been chiefly to expose the false and exaggerated information relating to the affairs of Scotland published by the Government news-writers. The misuse of the Duchess of Marlborough's legacy, the "unembarrassed countenance" of the orator, (the term had been first applied to him in the House of Commons,) and a variety of other circumstances, are dwelt upon with increasing banter by the writer of this journal, who makes a lengthened comparison of Orator Pitt with Orator Henley. But all was in vain: Pitt's eloquent "oratory" swayed the senate, ministerial bribes defeated opposition without, and on the 12th of June the printer of *The National Journal* was thrown into Newgate, whence he escaped only upon the expiration of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, in February, 1747.

In the midst of the intrigues in the cabinet, the Prince of Wales, dissatisfied with the ministry, in the formation of which he had had so large a share, and jealous of the popularity of his brother, again threw himself into the opposition. From this moment there was not only a sensible increase in the attacks against the Government, but every expedient was tried to blacken the character of the Duke of Cumberland. The cruelties exercised against the Scottish rebels were pressed on people's attention in every manner, and with every kind of exaggeration; and the victor of Culloden became generally known by the epithet of "The Butcher." Even his fatness, and the lowness of some of his amours, were turned to derision. The caricature of "The agreeable Contrast," mentioned above as published after the battle of Culloden, was responded to by a parody entitled "The agreeable Contrast — shews that a greyhound is more agreeable than an elephant, and a genteel person more agreeably pleasing than a clumsy one, a country lass better than a town trollop, and that Flora was better pleased than Fanny." The allusion is to the adventures of Flora Macdonald in aiding the escape of Prince Charles Edward, and to a woman of low origin, who had been taken into keeping by the Duke. An extraordinary notion of the elegant figure and graceful manners of the Pretender was zealously spread abroad by the Jacobite emissaries, and in this caricature he is represented as the accomplished beau, emblematically figured by his attendant, the courtly greyhound. He, too, is made to proclaim, "Mercy



THE BEAU.

and love, peace," &c.; while Flora exclaims, "Oh! the agreeable creature! What a long tail he has!" On the other side of the picture stand the bloated "Butcher" and his attendant emblem, the elephant. The Duke is made to exclaim, "B—d and w—ds!" and a lady near him expresses strongly her dissatisfaction at his figure.

THE BUTCHER.

All the political passions found a full vent in the general elections in 1747, which were unusually violent throughout the country; and the ministers are understood to have attained their majority only by the most lavish expenditure of the public money. At Westminster the two parties were brought into violent collision, and the Duke and the Prince of Wales are said to have taken an active part on the two sides. The Government candidates were Lord Trentham, the eldest son of Earl Gower, and Warren, who were elected by a considerable majority, against the opposition candidates, Phillips and Clarges. This party struggle was the subject of several spirited caricatures, in which the "Butcher" is made to cut a prominent figure. One of the best of these, published in June, 1747, bears the title of "The Two-shilling Butcher," and alludes to the open bribery carried forward on this occasion. It is described in an advertisement in the journals as "a curious parliamentary print." The Duke gravely observes, "My Lord, there being a fatality in the cattle, that there is 3000 above my cut, though I offered handsome." The individual thus addressed, an elegantly dressed figure, intended apparently to represent Lord Trentham, exclaims in reply, dissatisfied at the low price which the Duke had offered for votes, "Curse me! you 'd buy me the brutes at two shillings per head, *boná fide*." On one side of the print a person is seen picking Britannia's pocket, to give the money to Phillips and Clarges, while Britannia exclaims, "O God! what pickpockets!" Among other caricatures on this election, one published in July bore the title, "The Humours of the Westminster Election; or, the scald miserable independent electors in the suds." The agitation of a Westminster election was, however, soon to be renewed with still greater violence. In 1749, Lord Trentham having been appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty, had to vacate his seat, and every exertion was made by the opposition to hinder his re-election. "Those who styled themselves the independent electors of Westminster," says Smollett, "being now incensed to an uncommon degree of turbulence by the interposition of ministerial influence, determined to use their utmost endeavours to baffle the designs of the Court, and at the same time take vengeance on the family of Earl Gower, who had entirely abandoned the opposition, of which he was

THE TWO-SHILLING BUTCHER.

formerly one of the most respected leaders. With this view they held consultations, agreed to resolutions, and set up a private gentleman named Sir George Vandeput as the competitor of Lord Trentham, declaring that they would support his pretensions at their own expense; being the more encouraged to this enterprise by the countenance and assistance of the Prince of Wales and his adherents. They accordingly opened houses of entertainment for their partisans, solicited votes, circulated remonstrances, and propagated abuse: in a word, they canvassed with surprising spirit and perseverance against the whole interest of St. James's. Mobs were hired, and processions made on both sides, and the city of Westminster was filled with tumult and uproar."

This election occurred in the midst of a violent popular anti-Gallican feeling, which had been shewn particularly against a company of French players who were performing at the Haymarket, and who were spoken of by the mob as the "French vagrants." An attempt had been made to hinder them from acting, and they had been protected only by a mob hired by Lord Trentham, who appears to have affected Gallic manners, and to have been vain of his proficiency in the French language. The night after his ministerial appointment there was a great riot at the French theatre, in which Lord Trentham was accused of being personally active, although he denied it to the electors. This was made the most of by his opponents, who stigmatised him in ballads and squibs as "the champion of the French *strollers*;" and common people said that learning to talk French was only a step towards the introduction of French tyranny. In one of the ballads they said,

"Our natives are starving, whom nature has made
The brightest of wits, and to comedy bred;
Whilst apes are caress'd, which God made by chance,
The worst of all mortals, the strollers from France."

Admiral Vernon, who took an earnest part in the opposition, said in a letter, which was printed and extensively circulated, "For the patrons of French strollers, a nation who are now undermining us in our commerce, and endeavouring to deprive us of it, I heartily detest them, as I think every honest Briton should that wishes for the prosperity of his country." Lord Trentham's party retaliated by accusing Sir George Vandeput of being a Dutchman, and a partisan of the Dutch, who were at the moment not much more popular than the French; and all the sins of that people, from the time of the massacre at Amboyna, were raked up and published. This Westminster election is said to have been one of the most expensive contests that the Government had as yet experienced. The following epigram described a supposed conversation between Lord Trentham and his father:—

"Quoth L—d G—r [*Lord Gower*] to his son, 'Boy, thy frolic and place
Full deep will be paid for by us and his g—e [*grace*]:
Ten thousand twice over advanced!'—'*Veritable*,
Mon père,' cry'd the youth; 'but the D—e [*duke*] you know 's able:
Nor blame my *French frolics;* since all men are certain,
You 're doing behind, what I did 'fore the curtain.'"

An immense number of papers of different kinds, some of them in the highest degree scurrilous, were printed and circulated by both parties. The Ministers were accused of having set at liberty prisoners confined for small debts, that they might secure their votes; numbers were brought to the place of polling on horseback, and every kind of dishonest trickery was practised on both sides. The same person was, in many cases, smuggled in to vote more than once, and such notices as the following were placarded on the walls:—

> "This is to inform the publick, that there is now to be seen in Covent Garden the celebrated Mr. More, so well known to the curious for his astonishing variety of voices, who we hear intends to give them all in favour of Sir G. V——t."
>
> "*This day is publish'd,*
>
> "An Essay on Multiplication, wherein it will be incontestably proved, that man, like those surprising creatures called Polypuses, may be cut into 5, or 10, or more pieces, and each piece become a perfect animal; as is exemplify'd in the case of several voters for the present W—— election, now living in the parishes of St. Clement's and St. Martin's le Grand."

At the conclusion of the polling there appeared a majority for Lord Trentham, but his opponents demanded a scrutiny; and this scrutiny proved so laborious and difficult, or the parties interested in opposing the Court threw so many obstacles in the way, that it led to a quarrel with the House of Commons, which lasted some months, and gave a double celebrity to the Westminster election of 1749.

In spite, however, of the popular dissatisfaction without, which was thus from time to time exhibited in scenes of uproar and turbulence, the opposition in Parliament was weaker than it had ever been before, and its voice was still further silenced about this time by the admission of the Duke of Bedford into the administration. But, while thus enlarging itself by the admission of not very accordant materials, a consequent division was gradually manifesting itself within the cabinet, which was soon formed into two distinct and rival parties, one represented by Mr. Pelham, the Duke of Bedford, and Fox, and the other by the Duke of Newcastle, who was jealous of his brother's talents and influence, and Pitt, who already looked forward to stepping over their quarrels to the summit of power. These discussions were gradually mixed up with the foreign transactions of the country, until they became in a manner identified with the two questions of peace and war.

The war into which England had been hurried after the downfall of Sir Robert Walpole was carried on unskilfully, and had produced no advantages to this country, although it had been involved in an enormous expenditure. The rebellion in Scotland had been a most advantageous diversion for the enemy; and at its close the French were capturing fortress after fortress in the Low Countries, until the fears and the turbulent dissatisfaction shewn by people throughout Holland obliged the Dutch to elect the Prince of Orange to the office of Stadtholder. The King of Prussia held aloof, attentive only to his private views of aggrandisement; the movements of the Russians and Austrians were too slow to be effective; and a number of petty allies were only enriching themselves with English subsidies. On the 2nd of July, 1747, the allied army under the Duke of Cumberland was entirely defeated at the battle of Lauffeld, which spread a general feeling of discouragement. About the same time an English caricature, under the title of "Europe in Masquerade; or, the Royal farce," threw deserved ridicule on this war without principle, in which the peace and welfare of Europe were sacrificed to the intrigues of its cabinets. The following lines, under the same title, were reprinted in the *Foundling Hospital of Wit*, and describe with tolerable accuracy the state of politics in the latter part of 1747 :—

> " The States, at last, with one accord,
> Have made themselves a sov'reign lord.
> For public good ?—Be not mistaken,
> It was to save their own dear bacon.
> The King most Christian does his work,
> By leaguing with the heathen Turk ;
> The haughty Turk and Kouli Khan
> Are friends or foes, as suits their plan ;
> The Russian lady plays her game,
> As fits her interest or fame.
> You 've seen two curs for bone at bay,
> A third has run with it away ;
> Just so the Pr—n [*Prussian*] slily watches,—
> While others fight, the prey he snatches.
> At home behold a mighty pother,
> Friends worrying friends and brother brother,
> Pushing and elbowing one another.
> To Westminster but turn your eye,
> And the whole mystery you 'll descry :
> The independents there you 'll see
> Bawling aloud for liberty ;
> But if you follow in the dance,
> They 'll lead you blind to Rome or France."

The reverses of the allies on the Continent were, however, balanced by several decisive victories gained by the English at sea, which destroyed the commerce of France, and crippled her resources so much that the French monarch shewed a strong inclination to treat for peace. The English prime minister was also desirous of a pacification ; but his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, joined with the King and the Duke of Cumberland in wishing for a continuation of the war; and it was not until many petty difficulties and obstacles had been overcome, that the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle was agreed upon. The negotiations were continued through the greater part of the year 1748, and the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was not signed until the 7th of October.

The English ministers were too much occupied with their own cabals and private interests to take care of the interests of their country, and her allies alone gained any advantages by the peace. The moment the preliminaries were announced, they became an object of attack, and the newspaper and pamphlet warfare was carried on long after political hostilities had ceased. That part of the treaty which caused the greatest discontent in this country was the stipulated restoration to France of Cape Breton, which had been taken by the English shortly before the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion; and this discontent was very considerably heightened by the English government having submitted to the indignity of sending two noblemen, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart, to France as hostages until the restitution of this conquest should be completed. In the beginning of 1748 a loud cry was also set up against ministers, for allowing English bread to be exported to our enemies of France, who were suffering from famine, which was partly a consequence of the protracted hostilities. The popular arguments on this occasion may be summed up in an epigram printed in the *General Advertiser* of Feb. 1:—

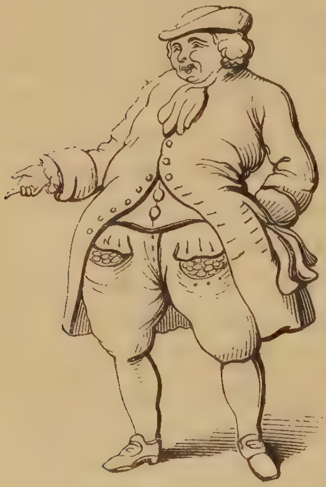
"To fast and pray, that heav'n our arms may bless,
Is wise and pious—we can do no less;
We might howe'er, methinks, something more do:
'What 's that, pray?' Why, sir, make the French fast too."

In the same journal, two days later, is advertised a caricature on the same subject, entitled "The Political Bitters; a satirical print." Another subject of complaint, and a more reasonable one, was the practice of insuring French ships in England, so that this country was actually making good the losses which the French merchants sustained in the capture of their ships by the English cruizers. In May, 1748, appeared a caricature, entitled "The Preliminary Congress," directed especially against the surrender of Cape Breton, and against the unsatisfactory conclusion of the sacrifices made by England, who is helping the empress queen over a stile, while France is seizing the opportunity of her exposed position to take liberties with her person. A print published at the same time was entitled "The Congress of Beasts; or, the milch cow." In another caricature, under nearly the same title, "The Congress of the Brutes at Aix la Chapelle," the different powers are represented under the forms of animals assembled in council, the Gallic cock presiding, to whom the British lion is, with all due humility, offering his recent conquest: "Pray accept Cape Breton!" In November, after the treaty was signed, appeared "The Grinner from Aix-la-Chapelle;" and in December appeared a number of spirited caricatures on the subject of the hostages, under such titles as "The two most famous Ostriches;" "The Hostages; a political Print," &c. In one of these, entitled

THE HOSTAGES.

"The Wheelbarrow Crys of Europe," the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart are represented in a barrow wheeled by King George, who cries, "Hostages, ho! two a penny before they go!" And in another, dated December 8, Cromwell appears on the scene with furious threats, which he is only hindered from executing by the devil; but he exclaims in his wrath, "Was it for this I sought the Lord and fought?" In January, 1749, appeared "The Hostages; an heroico-satirical poem;" and at the end of the same month was advertised a pamphlet, (accompanied with a large caricature,) entitled "The Congress of the Beasts, under the mediation of the Goat, for negotiating a peace between the Fox, the Ass wearing a Lion's skin, the Tygress, the Horse, and other quadrupeds at war." At the same time appeared a number of pamphlets and ballads against the surrender of Gibraltar, which it was pretended that the English government contemplated yielding up to Spain. In the *British Magazine* for January, 1749, is announced "A humorous print, called the Peace-offering."

Yet, in spite of these marks of dissatisfaction at the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, peace under any form appears to have been acceptable, and it was followed by general demonstrations of joy. The fireworks in the Green Park were unusually magnificent, and these and the jubilee masquerade at Ranelagh were represented in multitudes of prints, which were eagerly bought by the multitude. In one of these prints the fireworks are satirically called "the grand whim for posterity to laugh at." The Dutch, who had been reduced to a far worse position than the other allies, and who were now almost destitute of money and resources, rejoiced louder than anybody else, and their fireworks far exceeded those of the Green Park in magnificence. The British public thought that Holland had been too much favoured in the treaty, and that power was suspected of having had the intention of treating in private for its own interests. These extravagant demonstrations of joy by the Dutch were accordingly caricatured somewhat ungenerously in an English print, entitled "The Contrast," in which the prosperity of England (for England had really been increasing rapidly in commercial importance and wealth) is represented under the form of a portly individual, with his pockets full of money, laughing at the miserable figure of a Dutchman with his empty pockets turned out. The inscription under the Englishman is, "Money with Commerce;" that under the Dutchman, "No money with fireworks!"*



PEACE AND PLENTY.

In the midst of these popular subjects of discontent, the divisions in the ministry were becoming every day more apparent, and the open accession of the Prince of Wales raised again the spirits of the parliamentary opposition. The old intriguer Bolingbroke was again brought into play, and new plots were constantly hatching, either at his house at Battersea or at the Prince's at Leicester House. It was not long before the ministry was weakened by several defections; Bubb Dodington first relinquished his place of treasurer of the navy, and returned to a post he had formerly held in the Prince of Wales's household, and he took the lead in the Prince's party. A regular opposition was now again organised in the House of Commons, and the printed attacks on measures and persons became more energetic, as well as more numerous. One of the most violent of these, published under the title of "Constitutional Queries," was levelled at the Duke of Cumberland, who was compared in it to the "crook-backed" Richard III., and was generally supposed to have come from Leicester House, and to have been written by Lord Egmont. These "Queries" raised a violent heat in the two Houses; the open attempt to sow dissension between the two royal brothers was strongly animadverted upon, and the paper in question was ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, and measures were taken, but in vain, to discover and punish the author. But the Prince's party in the House opposed these proceedings, and Sir Francis Dashwood and others spoke in palliation of the libel. These party intrigues occupied the whole of the year 1750, and were proceeding with increased activity in the beginning of 1751, when the opposition received a sudden blow from an event totally unexpected. On the 5th of February, 1751, appeared the royal proclamation of a reward of a thousand pounds for the discovery of the author of the "Constitutional Queries." The Prince of Wales died suddenly on the 20th of March, after a short illness, and relieved his father's ministry from one of its most dangerous opponents.

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* In the *British Magazine* for May, 1749, a caricature is announced under the title, "The Contrast; or, such is the folly of no money with fireworks, or money with commerce." I am uncertain if this be the same print as the one described above, or (as was not unusual) a different edition of it.

For several years after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the publication of political caricatures seemed almost suspended, and we shall find them of comparatively rare occurrence till the breaking out of the war in 1755. In the October of 1749 appeared "The true Contrast between a Royal British Hero and a frighted Italian Bravo," occasioned by the movements of the Pretender on the Continent, (who was shut out from France and Spain by the treaty of peace,) and shewing that his name still excited some interest in England; and "The Laugh; or, Bub's compliments to Ralpho," alluding, probably, to some circumstance in the opposition movements, of which Dodington was so active a promoter.

The opposition sustained a further loss in Lord Bolingbroke, who died on the 15th of December. The old actors, who had played their parts under George I., were rapidly disappearing from the stage, and we are entering upon the politics of an entirely new generation.

CHAPTER VI.

GEORGE II.

CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATION, AND INCIPIENT OPPOSITION.—OLD INTEREST AND NEW INTEREST. — ELIZABETH CANNING. — THE BILL FOR THE NATURALISATION OF THE JEWS. — ELECTIONS; HOGARTH'S PRINTS. — DEATH OF MR. PELHAM, AND CONSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY. — WAR WITH FRANCE.—TRIAL OF ADMIRAL BYNG.—NEW CONVULSION IN THE MINISTRY, AND ACCESSION OF WILLIAM PITT TO POWER.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—POPULAR DISCONTENT; BEER *versus* GIN.—CONQUEST OF CANADA.—DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

THE incipient opposition at Leicester House, as we have just seen, was overthrown by the death of the Prince of Wales; and its ostensible leader, Bubb Dodington, and others, tried to sell themselves at the highest price they could to the people in power. All the great political questions which had so long agitated the country seemed, indeed, now to have become extinguished, and to have given place to a far less honourable partisanship of private jealousies and private interests, in which it was the object of the minister to strengthen himself, by giving place to as many individuals as he had any reason to fear in the opposition, and the simple and only object of opposition was to establish a claim for admission to place. This was so universally felt, that, instead of the old distinctions of Whig and Tory, Hanoverian and Jacobite, or Court Party and Country Party, the supporters of ministers and the opposition had almost involuntarily taken the distinctive titles of the New Interest and the Old Interest; the New Interest being that of men in place, the Old Interest that of men who wanted to be in place. The parliamentary opposition, however, raised its head a little in the June of 1751, upon the dismissal of Lord Sandwich, and the consequent resignation of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Trentham. Lord Granville was again admitted into the ministry as one of the secretaries of state, and Anson was placed at the Board of Admiralty. The year 1751 passed off with great quietness; and the only remarkable parliamentary act in the portion of the session which closed it was the alteration of style, by correcting the calendar according to the Gregorian computation, then adopted by most other nations in Europe, it being decreed that the new year should begin in future on the 1st day of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the 2nd and 14th days of September, 1752, should for that time be omitted; so that the day succeeding the 2nd should then be denominated the 14th of that month. An alteration so useful in every point of view did not pass without some show of discontent; it was declaimed against as a Popish innovation, and long afterwards many people adhered tenaciously to the old practice.

In 1752, the opposition, though weak, shewed more signs of life. At the end of January, the Duke of Bedford attacked the subsidiary treaty with Saxony, by which the elector was bribed to give his vote for the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans, the question which was now agitating Germany, and which paved the way for the celebrated Seven years' war. The Pelhams, alarmed, now tried to buy over Bubb Dodington; but the negotiation again failed, and the opposition became a little more spirited, and it shewed itself much stronger on two bills for the naturalisation of Jews, and the regulation of marriages. Fox gave violent offence to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke by his conduct in opposing this latter bill, which, to use the words of Horace Walpole, was "invented by my Lord Bath, and cooked up by the chancellor." It may be observed, *en passant*, that, on the 4th of February, 1752, died Sir John Hynde Cotton, the last of the English Jacobites who had displayed any activity.

In the midst of this political calm, the newspapers and political essayists, which had increased in number, were obliged to seek matter for agitation in the passing incidents of the day; and these shew us how easy it was, in the last century, to set the passions of the multitude in a flame. A young woman of respectable connexions, named Mary Blandy, was executed at Oxford, in the beginning of 1753, for poisoning her father, and her crime had been attended with remarkable and somewhat romantic circumstances. She persisted at the scaffold in asserting her innocence; a number of pamphlets were published by persons who took part for or against her, and it became the subject of a warm public dispute. This was soon followed by a still more singular affair. A girl named Elizabeth Canning, who lived with her mother at Aldermanbury, in London, declared that on the night of the 1st of January, 1753, two ruffians seized on her as she was passing under Bedlam wall, stripped her of her outer apparel, secured her mouth with a gag, and conveyed her on foot about ten miles, to a place called Enfield Wash, where they brought her to the house of one Mrs. Wells, where she was robbed of her stays, and, because she refused to become a prostitute, confined in a cold and unfurnished apartment, where she remained a whole month, without any other food than a few stale crusts of bread and a gallon of water, till at last she forced her way though a window, and ran home, almost naked, to her mother's house, in the night of the 29th of January. The story was an improbable one; but, perhaps, on this very account it gained more popularity, and money was subscribed to prosecute the persons concerned in the outrage. Of three persons charged, Wells (the mistress of the house) was punished as a bawd; her servant, Virtue Hall, turned evidence for Canning to save herself, but afterwards recanted; and an old gipsy woman, named Squires, was convicted of the robbery of the stays, though she produced undeniable evidence that, at the time the offence was said to have taken place, she was at Abbotsbury, in Dorsetshire. At the trial, the court was surrounded by an enraged mob, which threatened with the utmost violence all who were brought as evidence for the accused, or who did not sympathise with Canning. The Lord Mayor, Sir Crispe Gascoigne, made a clear and impartial statement of the case; and at his representation the gipsy woman, Squires, received the royal pardon. This only added fuel to the popular fury. Some of the leading journals had taken up Canning's cause with considerable warmth, and they now turned their resentment against the Lord Mayor. An incredible number of pamphlets, both serious and satirical, on both sides of the question, with many prints and caricatures, issued from the press; and the faction raised throughout the kingdom on this trifling subject was so great, that, to use the words of a contemporary writer, "it became the general topic of conversation in all assemblies, and people of all ranks espoused one or other party, with as much warmth and animosity as had ever inflamed the Whigs and Tories, even at the most rancorous period of their opposition." Prosecutions for perjury were commenced on both sides; and, in the end, after Virtue Hall's recantation, Canning herself confessed that the whole story was a fabrication, and she was condemned to transportation. But her supporters, even now, did not give up her cause; those who were least zealous asserted that she had not acted voluntarily, but that she had been the tool of others; and they subscribed money for her, provided her with every comfort on her voyage, and ensured her a good reception in America.

People's minds were drawn off from this affair by a new subject of political agitation. The act of parliament of 1752, to permit the naturalisation of foreign Jews, which was the work of the Pelhams, had not passed without a violent opposition in the House of Commons; and, although the bishops had offered no opposition to it in the House of Lords, the clergy out of doors raised such a general outcry, as reminded people of the High-Church agitation of the days of Sacheverell. The alarm of the Church party had been further excited by the deistical tendency of the posthumous works of Lord Bolingbroke, whom while alive they had almost sanctified as their political champion. The merchants of London began also to be alarmed at imaginary commercial advantages which the Jews were to derive from the measure. As the period for the general elections was now fast approaching, the excitement increased tenfold. Multitudes of controversial tracts were published on this subject, as well as others, the more immediate design of which was to inflame the passions of the mob. Among these were histories of the Jews, written in a partial spirit, and magnifying their pretended sins; fearful prognostications of their increasing power, and of their encroachment on the liberties and on the commercial power of the country; and strange imaginary pictures of the state of the country under Jewish supremacy, when it was supposed that the Jews would gradually have made themselves masters of the estates and property of the English nobility and gentry. Caricatures against the Jews were exhibited in the windows of the print-shops, and ballads equally bitter were sung about the streets. Thus, in August, 1753, a caricature is advertised under the title of "The Circumcis'd Gentiles; or, a journey to Jerusalem," stated to be "engraved by Issachar Barebone, Jun^{r};" and in December another caricature was announced, entitled "The Racers Unhors'd; or, the Jews jockey'd." One of the ballads, entitled "The Jew's Triumph," and set to a popular tune, gives a melancholy account of the disasters of the year:—

"In seventeen hundred and fifty-three,
The style it was changed to P—p—ry [*Popery*],
But that it is lik'd, we don't all agree;
Which nobody can deny.

"When the country folk first heard of this act,
That old father Style was condemned to be rack'd,
And robb'd of his time, which appears to be fact,
Which nobody can deny;

"It puzzl'd their brains, their senses perplex'd,
And all the old ladies were very much vex'd,
Not dreaming that Levites would alter our text;
Which nobody can deny."

The faults of the Jews, and the dangers to be apprehended from them, are pourtrayed in equally doggerel verses, and vengeance is finally called down upon those who had now advocated their cause.

"But 'tis hoped that a mark will be set upon those
Who were friends to the Jews, and Christians' foes,
That the nation may see how Deism grows;
Which nobody can deny.

"Then cheer up your spirits, let Jacobites swing,*
And Jews in their bell-ropes hang when they ring
To our sovereign lord great George our king;
Which nobody can deny."

"The Jews naturalized; or, the English alienated: a ballad;" breathes the same spirit, and ascribes the passing of the Naturalisation Act to that extensive system of bribery with which everybody was then familiar. Even the clergy preached against the Jew bill from the pulpit; and the ministry became so alarmed for the elections, that they weakly yielded to the foolish clamour, and repealed their own act at the commencement of the session at the end of 1753.

The elections, which took place in the April following, (1754,) were less clamorous than it was expected, and, with the exception of a violent contest in Oxfordshire, the opposition the court had to contend with was not great. The chief party-cries related to the Jews, to the alteration in the style, and to the Marriage Act.† The new Parliament, to use the words of Horace Walpole, was selected "in the very spirit of the Pelhams." The revival of the opposition in Parliament, and the agitation naturally attendant on elections under such circumstances, produced a few caricatures, which possessed little merit. In February was announced "The P. [*Parliament?*] Race; or, the C. [*court*] jockeys." We are better acquainted with a caricature published on the 11th of June, under the title of "Foreign Trade and Domestic compared;" in which one of two compartments represents the King of France raising up French commerce upon the ruins of that of Great Britain; while, in the other compartment, the Duke of Newcastle, as minister, is oppressing our own trade, and sacrificing our merchant navy, by loading commerce with an accumulation of oppressive taxes. The journals of the month of September announce, among other new prints, a caricature, entitled "The Differences of Time between *those times* and *these times*," no doubt designed in the same spirit.

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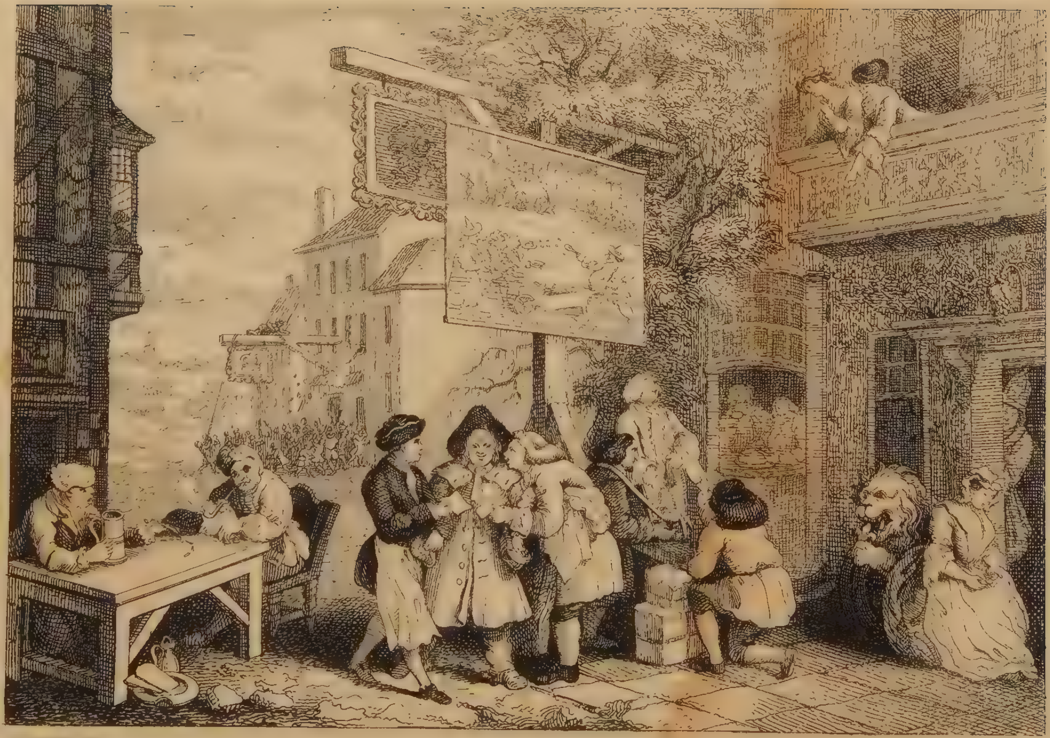
* Alluding to the execution of Dr. Cameron this year, which had excited compassion rather than exultation, even among a mob which appears to have been especially greedy of such sights.

† The act for the regulation of marriages had met with great opposition, and it was far from popular with the multitude. On the banner seen through the window, in one edition of Hogarth's print of "The Election Dinner," we see the words, "Marry and multiply in spite of the . . . . ." In April, on the eve of the elections, a caricature appeared under the title of "The Eccl—st—l Millers; or, the funeral of Private Matrimony;" and in the October following was published "The Marriage Act, a *Novel!*

But the elections of 1754 will ever be memorable in the history of art, as having given rise to Hogarth's four capital prints of the humours of an election, the first of which was published in 1755, and the other three in the following years, and which contain several allusions to circumstances connected with the great contest in Oxfordshire. The first of these prints, as every reader will be aware, represents an election dinner, which was now one of the first and most necessary steps of the candidate towards popular favour. The inscription on the banner, and the effigy of the Duke of Newcastle, with the words "No Jews," (seen through the window,) allude to the popular subjects of agitation, and shew that one candidate belongs to the "Old Interest." The second plate, which contains more of political satire than the others, represents the canvass for votes. Two inns, the Royal Oak



THE ELECTION—CANVASSING FOR VOTES

and the Crown, are the head-quarters of the rival candidates; and a third, the Porto Bello, appears to be neuter. The Royal Oak is evidently in the Old Interest, and a large caricature painted on cloth hangs from the sign-post; in the upper part of which the height of the Treasury is contrasted with the squat solidity of the then new Horse-Guards, the arch of which is so low that the state-coachman risks his head in attempting to drive under it, while the turret at the top is drawn like a beer-barrel. This was designed for a satire on Ware, the architect. Money is thrown from the Treasury window, to be put in a waggon for carriage to the country. In the compartment below, "Punch, candidate for Guzzledown," has a wheelbarrow full of gold, which he is distributing to the electors with a ladle.

"See from the Treasury flows the gold,
To shew that those who 're *bought* are *sold!*
Come, Perjury, meet it on the road—
'Tis all your own—a waggon-load.
Ye party fools, ye courtier tribe,
Who gain no vote without a bribe,
Lavishly kind, yet insincere,
Behold in Punch yourselves appear!
And you, ye fools, who poll for pay,
Ye little great men of a day,
For whom your favourite will not care,
Observe how much bewitch'd you are."

The candidate is purchasing trinkets of a Jew to conciliate the favour of the ladies, whilst a messenger brings him a letter, addressed, "Tim Parti-toole, Esq." The Crown, which is stated also to be the excise-office, is attacked by a mob, who are pulling down the sign, which threatens to crush them in its fall; while the landlord is shooting at them from the window. In front an elector is receiving bribes from both parties, whose agents are presenting him with invitations to dinner at the rival inns. The only sign of political activity at the third inn consists in two men seated at a table, drinking, and arguing on the capture of Porto Bello, one of them explaining to the other, with pieces of tobacco-pipe, how the place was taken with six ships only. At the door of the inn of the opposition member is a wooden lion, devouring a *fleur de lis*, intimating that the Old Interest were already urging to those hostilities with France, which soon followed the period of the elections.

> "Oh, Britain, favourite isle of heaven,
> When to thy sons shall peace be given?
> The treachery of the Gallic shore
> Makes even thy wooden lions roar."

The third plate of Hogarth's series represents the various tricks and frauds used in "polling for the votes;" and, in the fourth, the successful candidate is chaired, and enjoying his turbulent, and apparently somewhat perilous triumph, amidst a scene of wild uproar. It is generally understood that Hogarth's *successful candidate*, who is of the New Interest, is intended to represent the celebrated Bubb Dodington, the intriguing manager of the Leicester House opposition. In the plate the artist has represented a goose flying over his head, which is said to be designed for a parody on Le Brun's en-

THE SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE.

graving of the battle of the Granicus, in which an eagle is represented hovering over the head of Alexander the Great.

On the eve of the elections, an event occurred which opened a door for new intrigues among the younger statesmen, who were struggling for power. The prime minister, Henry Pelham, died on the 6th of March, 1754. His brother and colleague, the Duke of Newcastle, who had long divided the cabinet by his personal rivalry, succeeded in obtaining the premiership, and at the same time provoked the hostility (concealed for a while) of two other rivals in ambition, Pitt and Fox, who were left in their subordinate places, although one of Pitt's friends, Mr. Legge, was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Sir Thomas Robinson succeeded Newcastle as Secretary of State. The Duke had indirectly fomented the King's dislike to Pitt and Fox. In the course of the autumn these two statesmen formed a private coalition against the ministry, under which they held place, and it was a secret article of their league, that, in case of success, the latter should be placed at the head of the Treasury, while the former was to be Secretary of State. Pitt and Fox, together, were all-powerful in the House of Commons; and when the Duke of Newcastle was made aware of the coalition, he hazarded a desperate attempt to separate them, and succeeded in detaching Fox, by introducing him into the cabinet as one of the secretaries of state.

Amid these intrigues at home, Europe began again to be threatened with a general war, in which England was made more especially interested by the encroachment of the French upon our colonies in North America, and by their intrigues against us in India.

In America, without any declaration of war, the hostilities of the French had been carried so far, that, when the Parliament assembled in November, (1754,) the King was obliged to ask for extraordinary supplies for the defence of our possessions. All the measures of the ministry now began to take a more warlike tone, and the Duke of Newcastle, although he was far from shewing any eagerness for hostilities, became more popular with the multitude. England and France were, however, soon at war in different parts of the globe, while each party pretended to be at peace, and endeavoured to throw the blame of hostilities on the other. The French government dissimulated its real designs, while hastening forwards its armament with the greatest vigour; the English ministers were wanting in vigilance and foresight, and had been neglecting the navy and the colonies; they even now spoke slightingly of the latter, and of the folly of being plunged into a war for them. In March, 1755, they no longer concealed their belief that hostilities were inevitable, and they sent a fleet, under Boscawen, to North America, although they were so completely deceived by the demonstrations of the French, that they anticipated the attack at home, in England, or at least in Ireland. Boscawen missed the French fleet, which had preceded him, but two French men-of-war were captured, and the news, on its arrival in England, was received with the greatest exultation. This event, which appears to have been equally unexpected to the courts of England and France, made a further complication in their relations, and forced the former into more decided hostilities. Although the English cruisers captured French ships wherever they met them, both governments still persisted in stating that they hoped to preserve peace between the two countries. The backwardness of the Duke of Newcastle in supporting British rights against French encroachments had already been made the subject of a caricature, published on the 4th of April, entitled "The Grand Monarque in a Fright; or, the British Lion roused from his lethargy." Newcastle is restraining the angry animal, who is hardly pacified by the assurance, "Peace, peace, my brave fellow! Be quiet; rely on the equity and veracity of the most Christian King, and all things shall be adjudged by the commissaries of both nations." The equity and veracity of the French court were certainly not at this moment generally believed in. The capture of the two French ships, and the intelligence brought by every new arrival of preparations in our colonies, raised still further the national spirit, and people began already to dream of the expulsion of the French from America. On the 11th of August, another caricature, entitled "British Rights maintained; or, French ambition dismantled," represented the Gallic cock plucked of his feathers by the British lion, and compelled to utter a sorrowful "Peccavi!" The feathers under the lion's

THE BRITISH LION ROUSED.

paw are severally inscribed with the names of the French forts in North America, "Beau Séjour," "Fort St. John's," "Crown Point," "Ohio," "Quebec," &c. Britannia, bearing the cap of liberty on her spear, is encouraging her lion, while behind, Mars and Neptune are carving out for her portions in the map of North America with their sword and trident. A negro boy laughs at the unfortunate cock, and exclaims, "Pretty bird, how will you get home again?" On the other side of the picture stands another group. The genius of France, weeping, exclaims, "Ave Maria! que ferrons nous? After our massacres and persecutions, must heretics possess this promised land, which we so piously have called our own?" On a hill in the distance is seen a martyr burning at the stake. A Frenchman, with chagrín marked in his countenance and attitude, who is designated as "Mons. le Politicien," bites his hat in his spite, and exclaims, "Garni bleu! If our fleet had not been lost in a fog, we should have trompé les f—— Anglois out of tout l'Amerique Septentrional." A British "jack-tar," taking him by the shoulder, and calling his attention to the operations of Neptune

THE GALLIC COCK PLUCKED.

FRANCE IN THE DUMPS.

and Mars on the map, says, "Hark ye, Mounseer! was that your map of North America? What a vast tract of land you had! Pity the right owner should take it from you!" In the distance, the comet of "universal monarchy," represented as the grand object of French ambition, is falling into the sea.*

Shortly after the appearance of this caricature, the public exultation was considerably damped by the arrival of the news from America of the disastrous result of General Braddock's expedition against the French on the Ohio; and other news, equally dispiriting, that followed in quick succession, raised a cry of disappointment in the mother-country, which fell heavy upon ministers. In November, as the session of Parliament approached, another caricature appeared, attacking the half-measures of the English court, and described in an advertisement as "Two *utopian* scenes, called Half Peace, Half War."

The opposition was evidently gaining force; and when Parliament met, on the 13th of November, Pitt, who had long been coquetting with popularity, and who, although he retained his office of Paymaster of the Forces, had been brooding over his disappointments, suddenly dragged his colleague Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, into open opposition to the measures of the court. In one of his grandest outbreaks of eloquence, Pitt assailed the whole system of foreign negotiations pursued by the ministers, and attacked the subsidy treaties with the continental powers with the same anti-Hanoverian spirit he had displayed in his younger days. A week after, on the 26th of November, Pitt and Legge were dismissed from their offices. Pitt had already formed a close alliance with the Leicester House faction, and he now became the acknowledged leader of the opposition, weak as it still was, in the House of Commons. The ministry, however, still held on with its large, and, as it was said, paid majorities, and Fox was left to display his talents in contending in the arena of oratory with his powerful antagonist. Horace Walpole, in a letter dated the 12th of February, 1756, describes the House of Commons as then "divided into a very dialogue between Pitt and Fox."

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* In the previous month of July, another caricature had appeared relating to the hostilities in America, entitled "The American Moose Deer; or, away to the river Ohio." Copies of it are in the collections of Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Burke.

In the preceding year, in a letter dated August 4, Walpole, speaking of the recriminations between the courts of France and England upon the capture of the French ships in America, had said, with a sneer, "Mirepoix [the French ambassador] complained grievously, that the Duke of Newcastle had overreached him; but he is to be forgiven in so good a cause! It is the first person he ever deceived!" The Duke's incapacity and unfitness to guide the councils of his country, under the difficult circumstances in which she was now placed, were apparent every day. By pretended preparations to invade England, the French court had completely drawn off the attention of the English ministry from its real preparations, on the most extensive scale, for the invasion of Minorca and reduction of Port Mahon, a possession which the English people had been taught latterly to consider as second only to Gibraltar. When our ministers were repeatedly warned of the danger, and when they were fully assured of the intentions of France, they still persisted in keeping our ships at home, and in leaving the weak garrison at St. Philip's Fort, which protected Port Mahon, without reinforcements. At length, with the beginning of January, 1756, the alarm became general; odes and poems on the honour and bravery of Britons were bandied about during the following month; and the newspapers inform us, that, on Wednesday, the 3rd of March, "the hottest press began for seamen that ever was known." It was determined to send forthwith a fleet to the Mediterranean. On the 18th of March, Horace Walpole writes, "We proceed fiercely in armament." The ministers now committed a new fault, in appointing to the command of the Mediterranean fleet an officer of very mean capacity, and with little experience—Admiral Byng, the son of old Admiral Byng, of Queen Anne's days, who had been raised to the peerage by the title of Earl of Torrington. Byng sailed on the 5th of April, with ten ships of the line (Newcastle had been persuaded by Anson to send no more), and a small body of troops to reinforce Blakeney's small garrison. The fleet lost some time on its way to Gibraltar, and there it did not receive the additional troops it expected. Owing to these delays, Byng did not reach Minorca till the 18th of May, when the French fleet had preceded him, and landed 16,000 men, who immediately formed the siege of the fortress held by Blakeney. Byng had hardly arrived, when the French fleet, consisting of thirteen ships of the line and four smaller vessels, made its appearance, and the two hostile armaments were formed in line of battle, and watched and manœuvred till night. Next morning the French fleet had disappeared. It returned towards the middle of the day, when the two fleets again formed in order of battle; and about two o'clock Byng gave the signal to engage, but in so contradictory a manner, that it only caused confusion among his ships. Rear-Admiral West, the second in command, acting upon the intention of the order, and not upon the letter, bore away with his division, attacked the enemy with the greatest bravery, and had already driven several of their ships out of the line, when, unsupported by the rest of the English fleet, he was obliged to return. Had the whole fleet followed the example of West, it is probable that the French would have been defeated, and Minorca saved: but Byng seems to have acted in the utmost confusion; his own ship, the Intrepid, had become for a moment unmanageable, and driven on the next ship in position; and, in spite of the expostulations of his captain, Byng refused to advance for fear of breaking his line. The French admiral, De la Galissonière, who appeared to be no more desirous of fighting than the English, took advantage of this slowness to effect his retreat. Byng then gave orders for the chase, but the French ships were in better condition, and were soon out of sight. Next day Byng called a council of war, represented to them the bad condition of his fleet, and the superiority of the enemy in men and guns, and it was determined to leave Blakeney to his fate, and return to Gibraltar. The brave little garrison of Fort St. Philip held out five weeks longer against its horde of besiegers, and then made an honourable capitulation.

In England the greatest anxiety was shewn for the fate of Port Mahon, and the public were encouraged in forming extravagant expectations of the success of the expedition under Admiral Byng. When, therefore, his despatch arrived in the month of June, the ministry were overwhelmed with consternation, and the country was thrown into an absolute fury. The public exasperation was increased on the arrival of the French accounts, which exulted over the *defeat* of the English fleet, their own fleet having returned on Byng's disappearance; for, though neither party could establish any fair claim to a victory, it was evident that both had run away.

"We have lately been told
Of two admirals bold,
Who engaged in a terrible fight;
They met after noon,
Which I think was too soon,
As they both ran away before night."

So said one of the popular epigrams of the day; and it was at first the general belief that Byng had betrayed his country by his pusillanimity, and that, if he had fought, Port Mahon would have been saved.

The English ministers, to whose improvidence and ill-management the loss of Port Mahon was chiefly to be ascribed, in their terror, attempted to save themselves by throwing the odium on the unfortunate admiral. Anson, who presided at the Admiralty, was especially active in fanning up the popular flame. Artful emissaries, we are informed by the writers of the time, mingled with all public assemblies, from the drawing room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-Cross, expatiating on Byng's insolence, folly, and cowardice, and exaggerating the losses which were believed to be occasioned by it. His despatch, which was certainly a very lame explanation of his conduct, but which it was pretended the ministry had curtailed of sundry passages reflecting on their own share in the disaster, was everywhere turned into ridicule, and was even versified in a variety of shapes, of which the following may serve as a sample.

"THE LETTER OF A CERTAIN ADMIRAL.

"Mr. C—— [*Cleveland**], I pray, to their L——s [*lordships*] you'll [say,
We are glad and rejoice above measure:
When you've read what is writ you, you'll laugh till it split you,
And so give me joy of *my pleasure*.

"We'd a wind, you must know, as fair as could blow,
And therefore in days just eleven,
We had sail'd from the shore full ten leagues or more,
And saw nought but the *ocean* and *heaven*.

"Then seventeen ships came licking their lips,
And crying out '*Fee, faw,* and *fum;*'
Bigger each than St. Paul; guns, the devil and all;
And, egad, looking wondrous glum.

"But no matter for that, who says pit a pat?
We tack'd, and we stood to the weather;
We tack'd quite about, right and left, brave and stout,
And so we were sideways together.

"Souls five score and two, maugre all they could do,
We took in a tartan alive;
Six hundred did sail in the vessel so frail,
But *our hundred* had eat up the *five*.

"But of this by the bye; for now we drew nigh
To each other—quite close—nay, 'tis true:
Six times two of the line, large, grand, bright, and fine;
Five frigates!—but look'd rather *blue*.

"Fair Honour, quoth I, in thy arms let me die,
And my glory burn clear in the socket;
Not an ounce more of powder, or a gun a note louder,
So the d——— [*directions?*] I put in my pocket.

"Brave W—— [*West*] led the van, I followed amain;
Such *closing* and *raking*, and work,
With *foresails* and *braces* all flutt'ring in pieces,
'Twould have melted the heart of a Turk.

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* The despatch was directed to Mr. Cleveland, the Secretary of the Admiralty.

"But the devil, in spite, to blast our delight,
Got aboard the I———d [*Intrepid*], his daughter,
Made her jump, fly, and stumble, reel, elbow, and tumble,
And drove us quite *out of the water.*

"And now, being tea-time, we thought it was the time
To talk over what we had done;
So we put on the kettle, our tempers to settle,—
And presently set the fair sun.

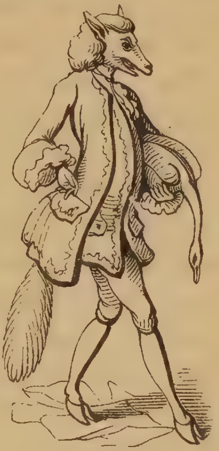
"Our c——l [*council*] next day, in seemly array,
Met, sat, and debated the story;
We found that our fleet at last might be beat,
And then, you know, *where is the glory?*

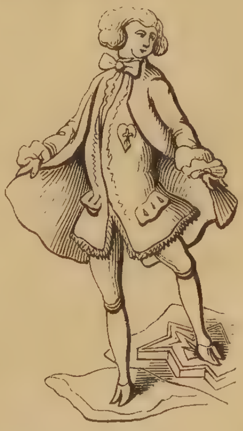
"Moreover, 'twas plain, three ships in the van
Had their glasses and china all broke;
And this gave the balance, in spite of great talents,
Against us,—a damnable stroke!

"Without fear of reproaches, as sound as your roaches,
Of glory we've saved our whole stock;
'Twere pity, indeed, to lose it, or bleed,
For a *toothless old man* and *a rock.*"

The ministers had sent out two new admirals, Hawke and Saunders, to take command of the fleet of the Mediterranean. When Byng learnt that he was recalled, he wrote a recriminatory letter to the Admiralty, which increased the fears and anger of the Government. Orders were immediately despatched to Admiral Hawke to place Byng under arrest, and send him home a prisoner. On his arrival at Portsmouth, the fury of the mob was so great, that it required a strong guard to hinder him from being torn to pieces. His effigy had been already burnt in almost every town in England; and the number of pamphlets both serious and burlesque, of satirical poems and incendiary ballads, of prints and caricatures, that were launched into the world on this question, during the autumn and winter, is almost incredible. It was long since the nation had been in anything like such a state of excitement and fermentation.

The ministers soon found that they were themselves in danger of being overwhelmed by the storm which they had thus conjured up; for the tide of unpopularity was running fast against them, especially against Fox and Anson, while Pitt had become the idol of the multitude. The loss of Oswego, and some other successes of the French in America, came soon after to increase the dissatisfaction against the men who were now openly blamed for their want of foresight, for their disregard of the American settlements, and for the ignorance they had exhibited in the direction of the naval force of the country. One of the popular tracts for street sale, (or, as they are more technically called, chap-books,) published at this time, bears the title of "A Rueful Story; or, Britain in tears: being the conduct of Admiral B—g. . . . London: Printed by Boatswain Hawl-up, a broken-hearted sailor." A large folding broadside, which serves as a frontispiece, is adorned with a coarse wood-cut, representing Byng in chains, with the ghosts of his slaughtered sailors appearing to him in his prison, and surrounded by doggerel verses; and the body of the tract consists of an inflammatory report of Byng's conduct, in which he is represented as the willing tool of ministerial mismanagement; with the addition of a number of doggerel ballads in the same spirit. One of the more remarkable of the caricatures, published under the title of "The Devil's Dance—set to French music," of which there is a copy in the collection of Mr. Hawkins, represents the trio, Fox, Byng, and Newcastle, with cloven hoofs. Fox, with the head and tail of the animal designated by his name, carries a goose, the representative of Anson, (by a miserable pun upon his name—*anser* being the Latin for a goose,) and is treading under foot a bundle of papers inscribed "Honour," "Law," "Justice," "Honesty," "Liberty," "Property." The Duke of Newcastle is trampling on "Magna Charta," and "The Constitution;" while Byng, who is dressed as a French beau, in the highest cut of the fashion, with a *fleur de lis* in his heart, is dancing gaily upon "Port Mahon," and the various treaties and great exploits of former commanders. In another caricature, entitled "A Court Conversation," Fox and Anson, with the heads of a fox and a goose, the latter leaning on a broken anchor, and pointing to the *London Gazette*, are conversing upon the ill success of their attempt to ward off the storm from themselves by garbling the admiral's despatches: the goose-head has an admirably reproachful look.


FOX AND GOOSE.


THE CLOVEN-FOOTED ADMIRAL.

> "Quoth Anser to Reynard, 'Methinks you had better
> Have not made so free with this same cursed letter.'

Sly Reynard replied, 'Yet your Lordship must own,
Not Byng had been burnt, if the truth had been known.'"

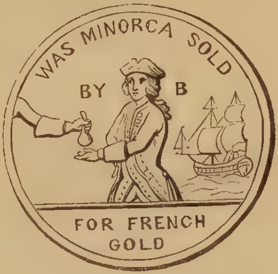
Behind this group is the council-table, where three of the members are disturbed by the fall of a picture of the siege of Port Mahon, which is the cause of the overthrow of the table. A map of North America hangs covered with cobwebs; and a pile of useless subsidiary treaties lie near a "place and pension ledger." Byng appears to have been known at home as a fop and man of fashion, (a class which, as imitators of French manners, were themselves unpopular with the mob) and as a great boaster; and it appears that he was a collector of china-ware, which explains one allusion in the metrical version of his letter given above. In another caricature Byng is represented "at home" and "abroad." In the first compartment he appears in the full garb of a "beau," with the muff, and every other accessory to that character, exclaiming gaily, "Pray, my lords, let me go, and I'll perform wonders." At the side is a parcel of china, with the inscription "China-warehouse." In the other compartment, Byng "abroad" is represented in chains, with a halter round his neck, and beneath him the inscription a "Lost Sheep." In another print, entitled "The Contrast," in which Byng is placed in disadvantageous contrast with Blakeney, the fatal halter is again an accessory, and the distich which accompanies it appears to bear allusion to the "lost sheep" of the former.

THE BEAU ADMIRAL.

"'Tis Britannia's doom, here 's a halter for B——;
As he fought like a *sheep*, like a *dog* let him swing."

In several other caricatures Byng is represented either as designed for the gallows, or, at least, as worthy of it; and in one, entitled "Byng Triumphant," which appears to have been especially popular, the unfortunate Admiral is conducted in a sort of mock triumph through Temple Bar, on which the emblems of the traitor's fate are fearfully conspicuous, to the place of execution, hooted and pelted by the attendant mob of English, Irish, and Scots, while a Frenchman exclaims in astonishment, "Le diable! la monseur le grand monarque no serva Monsieur Gallisonière so as dese, for sava his fleet."

It was the universal opinion, until his character in this respect was cleared by the court-martial, that Byng had behaved with cowardice; but it was almost as generally believed that he had been treacherous to his country,—that French gold had secured the capture of Minorca; and in this charge the ministry bore their full share. A medal * was circulated, representing on the obverse a figure of Admiral Byng receiving a bag of money from a hand belonging to a person concealed, with the inscription,



"Was Minorca sold
By B—— for French gold?"

On the reverse Blakeney is represented holding a flag before a fort, from which three guns are fired, and a ship is seen in the distance. The inscription is,

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* This medal is in the collection of Mr. Haggard.

"Brave Blakeney reward,
But to B—— give a cord."

It was represented that the people who governed the country were so much addicted to French luxuries and French vices, that they would willingly have allowed our enemies to get possession of Minorca, and blink at their encroachment in America, rather than have a war, which would cut off the supplies that peace with France administered to their vanities. A clever caricature appeared on the 25th of November, entitled "Birdlime for Bunglers; or, the French way of catching fools;" in which the French intriguer is emptying out of a large bag, money, mixed with articles labelled "wine," "cooks," "valets," "dancers," "fiddlers," &c. The English ministers are scrambling for the prize. Byng is prostrate, crushed by the weight of the fallen ministers; he grasps in his right hand two articles inscribed "wine" and "2 tartans," the latter an allusion to Byng's captures; while the unlucky Admiral, who has lost his wig in the fall, exclaims, "Oh, the devil take your lime! I am limed and twigg'd too, with a p— to you! Murder! murder! was it for this that I had the pleasure of saving the K——'s ships?" Upon Byng lies Fox, with a bag containing three millions in his left hand, yet still in his prostrate position stretch-

THE SCRAMBLER OVERTHROWN.

ing out his right hand for more. Under his knee is a label inscribed, "Large Fees for the bottomless Pitt;" and he exclaims, "In for a penny, in for a pound; for I find I cannot draw back my paw in time." The Chancellor, Hardwicke, greedily snatches at the money with both hands, exclaiming, in allusion to his marriage bill, "Have not I saved thousands from the lime-twigs of matrimony, and shall not I have my fees?" Underneath the picture is written, "Oh! how the mighty are fallen!" The caricature was, in fact, published when the ministry was in dissolution. The French distributor of these good things observes, "By Gar, dis lime vil stick longer to deir ribs den deir fingers; and, now I ave found de grand secret, I vil not only trap de Anglois, but tout le monde." Behind him stands a figure, evidently intended to represent Newcastle, grasping in his hand a bag containing eight millions, and remarking gravely, "An excellent way, 'faith! I find a Fox may be caught as easily as an old woman." The unpopularity of Fox had in some measure relieved Newcastle. On the other side of the picture appears Lord Anson, rushing eagerly to share in the spoils; but, encumbered by an E. O. table, an allusion to his passion for gambling, he cries out, "E. O., my heart of gold, tip us a handfull, for I have had a d——d bad run." Above him is a tablet, "To the memory of A. B.

THE CANDIDATE ENCUMBERED.

[*Admiral Byng*] May 21st, 1756;" and near it, on the wall of the apartment, the picture of Justice is obscured by an immense cobweb, in which a large spider exclaims,

"Sure no vast difference betwixt us lies,
Since you catch men as I catch flies."

Among the numerous caricatures and satirical tracts published during this period of excitement, it will be sufficient to mention the titles of the following:—In September, a caricature, "The Fox in the Pit;" in October, a tract entitled "The Resignation; or, the Fox out of the Pitt, and the Geese in, with B——y at the bottom;" and two caricatures, "The Auction of the Effects of John Bull," (his foreign possessions offered by his rulers for sale to the highest bidder,) and "The Downfall, as it will shortly be performed, to the tune of 'M——y's [*Murray's**] Delight;'" and, in November, a pamphlet, "The History of Reynard the Fox, and Bruin the Bear," &c.

To explain these titles, it will be necessary to state, that, on the 27th of October, Fox, terrified at the approach of the new session of Parliament under such a load of unpopularity, and feeling that he was in danger of becoming a scape-goat to some of his colleagues, resigned his place of Secretary of State. The Duke of Newcastle, in his distress, made overtures to Pitt, who now, in the pride of his own strength and popularity, refused to join in any ministry of which Newcastle formed a part. After several vain attempts to form an administration, the Duke was obliged to resign, and he was immediately followed by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke. The King was now placed under the necessity of calling in Pitt, against whom he had always indulged strong hostile feelings. Pitt, who had profited by the experience of the consequence of his former eagerness to accept place, and now determined not to lose his popularity, shewed no anxiety to listen to the call, but suddenly took upon himself a fit of the gout. Pitt's demands were at first considered so unreasonable, that a new attempt, equally unsuccessful with the former, was made to raise a ministry without him. At length the King was compelled, much against his inclination, to accept an administration in which Pitt succeeded Fox as principal Secretary of State; his friend Legge was again made Chancellor of the Exchequer; his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, succeeded Lord Anson at the Admiralty; and all the other places were filled up by his friends and partisans. The King opened the Parliament at the beginning of December, with a speech far more English in its sentiments than he had ever been made to utter before; and Pitt and Temple thwarted the royal inclination in several of his favourite foreign measures, which were distasteful to the English people. But the ministers joined (probably with foresight) in aiding the King of Prussia, who was now fairly entered into that celebrated war which tore Europe to its entrails during seven years. The new ministry met with considerable opposition, besides being disagreeable to the King; for they were beaten in some of the elections rendered necessary by their accession to office, and even their royal speech was ridiculed in a production of so libellous a character, that it was ordered to be burnt in the Palace Yard by the common hangman, and the printer was thrown into prison. The King, who did not conceal his dislike to his ministers, is said to have expressed his opinion in private society, that the libellous speech was better than the original.

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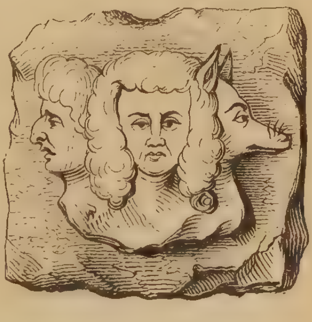
* Murray was the Attorney-General, one of the best speakers in the House of Commons, who was now going to the upper House as Lord Chief Justice, under the title of Lord Mansfield, and leaving the ministers to fight their own battles in the Commons.

In January, 1757, Admiral Byng was brought to his trial before a court-martial, and was found guilty of not having done the utmost he might have done to perform the duty imposed upon him; and therefore his judges were obliged, by a recently enacted and very oppressive law, to condemn him to be shot to death; but they fully absolved him of having shewn any want of courage, and he was strongly recommended to the royal mercy. The utmost exertions were made by the Admiral's friends, and even by many who were not his friends, to obtain his pardon; but the gates of mercy had been already shut to him. The Duke of Newcastle had led the King, when petitioned by the city of London, at the moment of greatest excitement, into a solemn promise that he would allow justice to take its course; and now, on the one side, the ministers who were out were anxious to sacrifice him, in order to turn the blame of misconduct from themselves, while those who were in had not the courage to risk their own popularity by saving him. An agitation was got up in the city, and the King was publicly called upon to fulfil his promise; and on the 3rd of March papers were fixed on the Exchange, with the words "Shoot Byng, or take care of your King." This was commonly ascribed to the emissaries of Lord Anson. At length, after much hesitation, the sentence was carried into execution on board his prison-ship, the Monarque, off Spithead, on Monday, the 14th of March. The feeling of the nation at large, as is always the case when a length of time elapses before the passions of the populace are indulged, had been gradually subsiding, or, at least, people had begun to lose sight of Byng in their anger against the late ministers; and the heroic fortitude with which he met his fate moved universal compassion, and rendered his enemies still more unpopular. People now spoke openly of Byng as the scape-goat of ministerial misconduct, and they pitied and lamented his fate in a number of epigrams and short poems which appeared in the daily prints during several months after his death. We meet also with a caricature, published about this time, entitled "Byng's Ghost to the Triumvirate." The triumvirate here represented was composed of Newcastle, Anson, and Hardwicke. But, in speaking of this triumvirate, the name of Fox, at this moment the most unpopular of all the late ministers, commonly took the place of that of Lord Anson. In a print published at this time, the three heads of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke, and Fox are represented joined together in a piece of stone, as a remarkable specimen of a *lusus naturæ*, or "A curious Petri-faction." The allusion is to the Duke of Newcastle's secretary, Andrew *Stone*, who had been appointed sub-governor of the Prince of Wales, and who, accused of Jacobitism, had recently been the cause of high disputes at court: he was looked upon as the Duke's creature; and in a collection of caricatures to which we shall shortly allude, one represents Newcastle as the old woman of



A LUSUS NATURÆ.

the fable riding on his ass, Stone. In the "lusus naturæ," we are told that the two outside faces (Newcastle and Fox) represent "two heads imperfect and of a black hue, suppos'd to have been wood." The one in the middle (Lord Hardwicke) is "a stone head, not esteem'd, and very dull." The stone on which they are placed is "a sort of petrified fungus, to which they adhere."

Pitt's popularity had increased in the same extravagant degree that Fox had become unpopular; but during the winter which followed his accession to power he was paralysed by continued attacks of the gout, a disease to which he was constitutionally subject. It was commonly said that Pitt's gout was of a convenient kind, and that its attacks were often assumed as excuses for not attending upon the King, with whose aversion for him he was well acquainted. The public, however, believed otherwise, and they looked with the greatest anxiety for his recovery from what they fancied was the sole impediment to his taking ample vengeance on our foreign enemies for the disasters of the previous year.

> "The land to rescue from impending fate,
> Pitt rose, the smooth-tongued Nestor of the state.
> The world in prospect saw our fame advance,
> Our thunder rolling through the realm of France.
> But heav'n (in mercy to the trembling foe)
> Bade the gout seize his senatorial toe.
> Thus, when Tydides swept the ranks of fight,
> And drove opposing hosts to realms of night,
> Swift from young Paris flew a whizzing spear,
> Stopt the stern hero in his fell career,
> Quick gliding, through the foot an entrance found,
> And nail'd the bleeding warrior to the ground."

So wrote a poet in the *Gentleman's Magazine* on the, 12th of February. At this very time, the King, who hated his ministry the more from the humiliation he felt at having had it forced upon him by the Leicester House faction, (for it was the Princess of Wales and her new favourite, the Earl of Bute, who had been chiefly instrumental in forming it,) was making a vain attempt in private to form another more to his own taste; and his determination to get rid of Pitt was fixed by the refusal of the Duke of Cumberland to take the command of the allied army in Hanover while that minister remained in power. The King first tried the Duke of Newcastle, who declined hazarding himself until the public discontent had been allowed time to subside; he then commanded Fox to form an administration in concert with the Duke of Cumberland. But the plan Fox at first drew up was neither practicable in itself nor altogether satisfactory to the King, on account of the unreasonable demands made by the maker for his own friends and family. When the King had been brought to consent to it, Fox found that only one of the persons he had pitched upon for ministers, Bubb Dodington, would venture to enlist under his banners. The King then, driven to desperation, prevailed upon Lord Winchelsea to take the Admiralty, and dismissed Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple. About a week after this, still urged on by the Duke of Cumberland, the King dismissed Pitt himself, who was followed by his friend Legge and several others, who resigned their offices. The cabinet was now virtually broken up, without even the prospect of a ministry to succeed it. Pitt became at once the idol of the people: a few days after his dismissal, the city of London determined to present the freedom in rich gold boxes to him and Legge; and the example of London was followed by a number of other cities. People compared Pitt's disinterested patriotism with the time-serving greediness of Fox and his friends; and, among a variety of political epigrams and squibs on the occasion, it was suggested in one that a division of the popular offerings might be made, to the satisfaction of both parties.

> "The two great rivals London might content,
> If what he values most to each she sent:
> Ill was the franchise coupled with the box;
> Give Pitt the freedom, and the gold to Fox."

The embarrassment into which the court was now thrown, without a ministry, and unable to form one, and the consequent intrigues within and excitement out of doors, gave rise to a swarm of political squibs and caricatures. Among the most remarkable of the latter was a caricature, said to be by the Hon. George Townshend, published about the middle of April, and entitled "The Recruiting Sergeant." It was intended to ridicule Fox's abortive attempt to form a cabinet, and represents that statesman leading his few ill-assorted recruits towards an altar, on which is placed the fat Duke of Cumberland, crowned with laurel. One of the foremost is Winchelsea, who had so readily accepted the Admiralty. Then comes the lean figure of Lord Sandwich, carrying

A LEAN RECRUIT.

his cricket-bat * on his shoulder, and exclaiming "I love deep play; this or nothing!" He is followed by Bubb Dodington, who was one of those readiest to take office under Fox, and whose extraordinary corpulence was as remarkable as the leanness of the Earl of Sandwich. Bubb, overcome with the fatigue of the march, cries with an imploring look, "I can't follow this lean fellow much longer, that's flat."† Early in May was published a pamphlet under the title of "The Chronicle of the short Reign of Honesty," as his

A FAT FOLLOWER.

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* Lord Sandwich was a noted cricket-player. It may be observed that several copies or imitations of this caricature appeared, and the different characters were also published on separate cards.

† On the 20th of April, Horace Walpole speaks of this caricature in the following terms in a letter to Sir Horace Mann:—

"Pamphlets, cards, and prints swarm again: George Townshend has published one of the latter, which is so admirable in its kind, that I cannot help sending it to you. His genius for likenesses in caricature is astonishing; indeed, Lord Winchelsea's figure is not heightened; your friends Dodington and Lord Sandwich are like; the former made me laugh till I cried. The Hanoverian drummer Ellis, is the least like, though it has much of his air. I need say nothing of the lump of fat, crowned with laurel, on the altar. As Townshend's parts lie entirely in his pencil, his pen has no share in them; the labels are very dull, except the inscription on the altar, which, I believe, is his brother Charles's. This print, which has so diverted the town, has produced to-day a most bitter pamphlet against George Townshend, entitled 'The Art of Political Lying.' Indeed, it is strong."

It is remarkable that two of these figures, those of Bubb Dodington and Lord Winchelsea, were found among the pencil drawings of Hogarth, and engraved in Ireland's "Supplement."

admirers called Pitt's administration. In the same month, as we learn from Horace Walpole, came out a bitter caricature against the Pitt party, entitled "The Turnstile." In June, among other satirical prints on the embarrassments in the formation of a ministry, were two, entitled "The Distressed Statesman," and "The Treaty; or Shabear's administration."

The country remained more than eleven weeks without a ministry. At first the King tried some men of inferior rank as statesmen, but met with nothing but refusals; and then he made a new application to the Duke of Newcastle, who attempted a coalition with Pitt and with the Leicester House party. Pitt refused to join in a ministry in which the chief power was not placed in his own hands; upon which Newcastle formed the plan of an administration from which Pitt and his friends were to be entirely excluded; but this also failed. Then followed a new negotiation between Newcastle and Lord Bute for the Leicester House party; and a plan was drawn up, in which Pitt and Lord Temple were to take office with Newcastle, and Fox be excluded; but the King refused to listen to it. George, now deserted by every person on whose assistance he had calculated, called Lord Waldegrave, (who enjoyed his confidence in an especial degree,) and ordered him to form the best ministry he could. At first the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford, the Earl of Winchelsea, old Lord Granville, and Mr. Fox, were ready to join him; but after a few days spent in meetings and hesitations, they also broke down, and left the King entirely at the mercy of Pitt, with

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Hogarth had written, under Bubb-Dodington, "spoil'd." and under Lord Winchelsea "spoil'd also." It may be suspected that Townshend copied the rough sketches of Hogarth.

whom and the Duke of Newcastle new negotiations were opened, which were brought to a conclusion in somewhat more than a fortnight. On the 29th of June the *Gazette* announced the re-appointment of Pitt as principal Secretary of State, and he took office with greater power than ever. The Duke of Newcastle, with the mere shadow of power, was made First Commissioner of the Treasury; Anson was placed again at the Admiralty, with a board composed entirely of Pitt's friends; Lord Granville was made President of the Council; and Fox, to appease the King, was made Paymaster of the Forces.

The intrigues and embarrassments of the few months which intervened between the overthrow of the Duke of Newcastle's administration in 1756, and the final establishment of Pitt's power in the summer of 1757, presented, as we have already hinted, a favourable field for the ingenuity and wit of the caricaturist; and a great number of political prints and, as they were then termed, cards were distributed about. These were often the productions, not of common draughtsmen, but of some of the distinguished political actors of the day, and especially of George Townshend. Many of these caricatures appear to have perished; but two years afterwards upwards of seventy of them were collected and published on a diminished scale, under the title of *A Political and Satirical History of the years* 1756 *and* 1757. These are all directed against the party of Newcastle and Fox, or rather of Fox and Newcastle, for Fox was now generally looked upon as the leading man in the old ministry; and the bitterness of political rancour is shewn in the constant allusions to the axe and the rope. In one, by the side of the heads of Fox and Newcastle stand two gallowses, entitled the "Pillars of the State," supporting a reversed ship with a cock crowing over it—the navy of England made a sacrifice to the vanity of France. The four most obnoxious ministers, Newcastle, Fox, Hardwicke, and Anson, were published under the characters of the four knaves of cards. In a caricature entitled "Punch's Opera, with the Humours of Little Ben the Sailor," are hung up the wooden figures of Anson with his box and dice, in the character of Little Ben; Sir George Littleton, as Gudgeon; Fox, as Mr. Punch; Newcastle, as Punch's wife Joan; and Hardwicke, as Quibble. They are all *semée* (to use the heraldic expression) with *fleurs-de-lis*, to shew the popular belief in their devotion to French interests. Sir George Littleton (created Lord Littleton in the spring of 1757, by which title he obtained a distinguished place in English literature) had provoked the enmity of the popular party by deserting to the ministerial side a few months before, and his eccentric figure, as well as his weaknesses and vanities, offered a ready butt for satire. In one print the portrait of this orator of the party (for after Fox he was looked upon as one of their better speakers in the House of Commons) is caricatured under the name of *Cassius*. In another he is drawn at full length, proffering the support of his tongue, and declaring that

CASSIUS.

> "What oratory can do shall be done;
> But then, good sir, you know I am but one."

The influence of French councils (and even of French gold) on this side of the Channel is a frequent subject of satire in this collection of prints, and the figures of the Duke of Newcastle and his ministers seldom appear without the characteristic mark of the *fleur-de-lis.* In one caricature, Newcastle, Fox, and Byng are represented as entrapped into their own destruction by golden baits laid before them by the evil one. In another, the ministers have dressed Britannia in gawdy French garments of the newest fashion, which fit so tight, that she complains of being unable to move her arms. Newcastle, as her *femme-de-chambre*, tells her that she has no need to move her arms, since there is nothing for her to do. Fox offers her a *fleur-de-lis*, as a becoming ornament to place over her breast. Two pictures are suspended in the room, one that of an axe, the other representing a halter, the rewards of traitorous ministers. Poor Britannia is indeed cruelly baited with the various vanities and vices of her governors. In one caricature she is seated in a chariot, drawn by geese and turkeys, and driven by the devil. Britannia is getting angry, as she reflects upon her ridiculous position; while a Frenchman by the way-side is clapping his hands and laughing at her. Among the patrician extravagances of the year 1756, Lord Rockingham and Lord Orford had made a match of 500*l.*, about the middle of October, between five turkeys and five geese, to run from Norwich to London. The geese and the turkeys were eagerly seized upon by the caricaturists, and were applied to the statesmen of that day with persevering ingenuity. In others of these prints the ministers are bitterly attacked for sending out money instead of men to fight our battles abroad, for bringing foreign troops into this country, and for their neglect of the navy, the natural defence of Great Britain. Their ill-arranged and ill-directed armaments are burlesqued in a caricature entitled "The Triumph of Neptune." The ship "The Old England," in a dreadful state of dilapidation, with the word "neglect" under it, is seen out at sea, with three French sail in the distance. Winchelsea, as the head of the Admiralty in one of the attempted ministerial combinations, is putting out to sea in a tub, in tow of "The Old England." A personage swimming behind him, apparently intended to represent the Duke of Newcastle, cries "Hard a port, Sir! Blood! you run all to leeward!" Winchelsea replies, "Don't you see I am in tow, and the wind sits exactly as it did when Matthews and Lestock did the thing?"* Another personage, who swims in front of the tub, with a speaking-trumpet, hails Fox, who is perched on the poop of the ship, "Huzza! all we; we shall soon head the French if we hold on! Keep your loof, Reynard, we have the

A GRAND EXPEDITION.

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* An allusion to the ill-conducted naval expedition to the Mediterranean, when Lord Winchelsea was at the head of the Admiralty in 1743, which ended in a quarrel between the two admirals.

weather gage." The fox replies, "Thus and no nearer." The fat figure of Bubb Dodington is seen sinking in the sea, and crying out for help: "Oh! oh! I'll give it up. Help! help! or I sink!" Beneath the group is inscribed the distich,

> "Will France pretend to face us now?
> No, no, not they, by Jove! Bow, wow!"

Anson is treated with great severity in these caricatures, and his gambling propensities are made the most of; and the attacks upon his unfortunate victim, Admiral Byng, are equally severe. In one, the Admiral is represented letting the cat out of the bag against his employers, (which he had made bold threats of doing:) the ministers are in a panic, none of them quite sure on whom the enraged animal will fix itself; but Fox shews the greatest terror, and rushes to the door, exclaiming, "'S blood! open the door! Let me out, or I'll break out!"—an allusion to his resignation, the first signal of the dissolution of the ministry of which he had formed so prominent a part. His rival Pitt appears everywhere triumphing over him, and raised up on the favour of his countrymen,—the patriotic statesman. In a caricature entitled "The Fox in the Pit," Justice riding upon Integrity is pursuing Fox, who falls into a deep *pit*, weighed down by a heavy sack inscribed "£8,000,000," in allusion to Fox's known eagerness for the spoils of office. In another, the motto of which is "*Magna est veritas, et prævalebit*," Pitt alone in one scale is made to weigh down a whole scale-full, including Newcastle, Fox, Hardwicke, Anson, and Littleton. The volume concludes with a portrait of the popular orator, with Justice and Truth for his supporters.

These hot political contentions gave birth to two or three periodical papers, among which the most remarkable was the *Test*, commenced on the 6th of November, 1756, under the editorship of, and chiefly written by, Arthur Murphy. This paper, an organ of the ex-ministers, was a barefaced and violent attack upon Pitt; and was followed by another paper, on the other side, entitled the *Con-Test*, which attacked Fox in a manner no less outrageous. Horace Walpole observes, with justice, that the virulence of these papers made him "recollect *Fogs* and *Craftsmen* as harmless libels." The *Test*, in its weekly attacks upon the "unembarrassed orator," raked up all his old political offences, and even made his constitutional gout an object of sarcastic burlesque. In one paper, about the beginning of 1757, it satirised his pretensions to political skill under the character of a quack-doctor, by the name of Gulielmo Bombasto de Podagra, in allusion to his oratory and to his gout, and he is made to put forth the following

"*Advertisement.*

"Lately arrived in this town the celebrated *Gulielmo Bombasto de Podagra*, the most renowned physician now in Europe. He hath made the system of the animal œconomy his study for many years past: he restores health and vigour to a decayed constitution, makes an old body young, and gives firmness and strength to *weak members;* and promises instant relief in all cases whatever—the more difficult the better.

"N. B.—As the doctor *does not love money*, he gives his advice *gratis*. Beware of *counterfeits*, for such are abroad."

It is further added, in allusion to his almost constant confinement by the gout during the session, "P.S.—The doctor receives visits in bed." Among the "cases" which are given as proofs of the physician's skill, the following may be cited as an example:—

"John Bull had eat too much *Newcastle salmon*, was troubled with a *Stone*,* contracted a scorbutic habit by a voyage round the world,† and was held by his lawyer ‡ to be *non compos mentis*. His friends advised him to have recourse to exercise, and follow a *Fox*, without suffering himself, as heretofore, to be thrown out, but to see the *Fox* frequently. Doctor Bombasto being sent for, ordered him to abstain entirely from *Newcastle salmon*, unless *he* had a mind to have the *jowl*, and absolutely forbad him ever to see a *Fox*. He then prescribed quiet to the old gentleman, and promised to go to bed for him; which *he* accordingly did: and we hear from *White's* that the knowing ones have *pitted* the old gentleman against the most healthy person now in Europe."

The virulence of the *Test* is especially exhibited in its attacks upon Byng, who was made an object of cruel ridicule, even while he lay under sentence of death. On the 20th of March, when the ministerial interregnum was commencing, it attacked Pitt's pride and haughtiness in the following paragragh:—

"*Minutes of one of a Great Man's Valetudinarian Soliloquies.*

"*Yes, I dare, I dare, I dare! I am exceedingly glorious, even beyond the scale of intellectual beings.*—I will not henceforward use any word that is not compounded.—What! *do the wretches kick at the draught?* They shall swallow it; and yet I must keep some measures with them—at the next audience they shall kiss my slipper—but who first? Sir John—or the alderman?—Let the reptiles adjust their own ceremonies.—I am tired of trampling on such base necks.—The neck of the most august is the best remedy for an inflamed toe.— . . . . . [*Hiatus valde deflendus.*]"

The thirty-fifth number of the *Test* was published on the 9th of July, 1757, after which time it was discontinued, for the men it advocated were nearly all taken into Pitt's ministry.

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* An allusion to Andrew Stone, Newcastle's private secretary, mentioned above, and who now and subsequently was active in the under-current of the political intrigues of the day.

† An allusion to Lord Anson.

‡ Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.

The difficulty of forming a ministry being settled, people began again to turn their thoughts to foreign affairs; for the spirit of the nation had been growing more warlike amid its partial reverses and disappointments. Hogarth gratified this rising spirit in 1756 by his two prints of "France" and "England;" in the former of which the Frenchmen are represented roasting frogs and preparing for their threatened invasion of England, that threat which had so entirely misled the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues. The French standard bears the inscription, "*Vengence et le bon bier et bon beuf de Angletere;*" and the still existing horror of Popery represented the invaders as bringing over with them all the instruments of persecution. In the other print, the alacrity with which recruits joined the standard of their country, to resist the invader, appears in a youth apparently under age and under height, who is doing his best to prove his qualifications. The courage which was believed to animate the nation at this conjuncture is shewn by the manner in which they turned to ridicule their expected invaders: a merry group are looking on whilst a soldier is drawing a caricatured figure of King Louis holding a gallows in his hand; and on a label issuing from his mouth are written the words, "You take my fine ships, you be de pirates, you be de tiefes! Me send my grand armies and hang

A WILLING RECRUIT.

you all! Morblu!" It is hardly necessary to say that this is a satire upon the memorial of the French king

THE PATRIOTIC PAINTER.

to the English ministers on the captures made by our ships.

There was, nevertheless, during this period much discontent throughout the country, which was increased by a prevailing scarcity of corn and provisions, and which made people lay hold of the slightest cause for complaint. The importation of a body of Hanoverian troops as a defence against the expected invasion was loudly reprobated; and the somewhat severe law passed at this time for the protection of game was represented as an expedient for disarming the people, under pretence of forbidding the keeping of guns for poaching, and thus rendering them incapable of resisting Hanoverian tyranny. Yet, singularly enough, when the Militia Act was passed, and the country was placed under the protection of a truly constitutional force, that was looked upon popularly as an act of insupportable tyranny, and in many counties the attempt to put it in force was the signal for alarming riots. The gin question had also risen again into notoriety, and during the latter years of the reign of George II. there had been going on a vigorous contest between two parties, on the relative effects of gin-drinking and beer-drinking. Gin has been long the bane of society among the lower classes in London. In 1751 appeared a revived print of the "Funeral Procession of Madame Geneva." The same year Hogarth attacked the prevalent vice in his two prints of "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane," the latter of which is a fine but revolting picture of the horrible consequences of the facility given to the sale of spirituous liquors, for the heavy prohibitive duties established in the time of Sir Robert Walpole had now been taken off. A new law was passed restricting the granting of licenses, which seems to have had little effect in correcting the evil. A caricature was published in 1752, entitled "A Modern Contrast," which appears to have been designed as a satire on the Government for its interference, and represents a licensed seller of good English beer, the wholesome effects of which are shewn in the plumpness of the landlord and his wife, exulting over a dealer in spirituous liquors, who is seized for selling without license, and his family turned out and his liquor staved. The beer-drinkers carouse without fear, but the gin-drinkers are in distress; and poor Justice lies prostrate in the street, in a state of total drunkenness. Under the peculiar political bias of the day,

ENGLISH BEER

every subject of discontent was in some way or other identified with the popular hatred of the French. Thus, it was said that beer was the natural beverage of Englishmen, and that wine and spirituous liquors were mere French inventions, calculated to corrupt and destroy British bravery and patriotism. A song was very popular in the May of the year 1757, under the title of

"THE BEER-DRINKING BRITON.

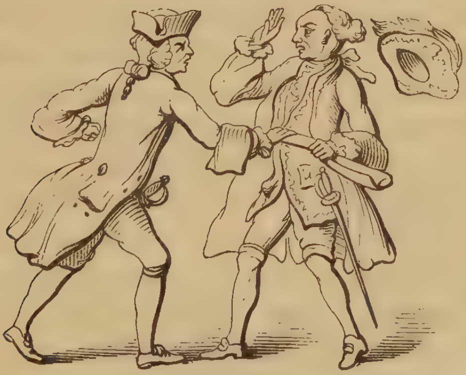
"Ye true honest Britons, who love your own land,
Whose sires were so brave, so victorious, and free;
Who always beat France when they took her in hand—
Come join, honest Britons, in chorus with me.
Let us sing our own treasures, Old England's good cheer,
The profits and pleasures of stout British beer;
Your wine-tippling, dram-sipping fellows retreat,
But your beer-drinking Britons can never be beat!

"The French with their vineyards are meagre and pale,
They drink of the squeezings of half-ripen'd fruit;
But we who have hop-grounds to mellow our ale,
Are rosy and plump, and have freedom to boot.
Let us sing our own treasures, &c.

"Should the French dare invade us, thus arm'd with our poles,
We'll bang their bare ribs, make their lanthorn-jaws ring.
For your beef-eating, beer-drinking Britons are souls
Who will shed their last blood for their country and king.
Let us sing our own treasures, &c."

There was, however, a commercial interest involved in this question, which it was necessary to consider. In 1758, at the moment when the scarcity of corn was felt most severely, a bill was passed hastily through the House for the temporary prohibition of its exportation and of the distillation of spirits, which it was believed tended much to increase the scarcity. In 1760 the question of continuing or repealing this law as far as regarded distillation was discussed with considerable animosity. Petitions were got up in the country, stating that since the prohibition the lower orders had become more sober, healthy, and industrious; and it was observed by grand juries in the metropolis, that not only had individual cases of violence, murder, and suicide followed the use of spirituous liquors in numerous instances, but that the gin-shops were known to be the constant harbour of highwaymen and rogues of every description, and that some of the most extensive robberies of the time had been planned in them. The malt-distillers made their counter-petitions, and, besides shewing the inexpediency of the prohibition in a commercial point of view, and as it affected the revenue, they represented that the excessive use of malt liquors might be as injurious to the moral character of the population as gin-drinking, yet no person ever thought of prohibiting the practice of brewing in order to prevent the use of ale. The dispute was carried on with some warmth; a number of pamphlets were published on both sides; the old prints against gin became popular again, and new ones were added to them, among which was one, which appeared in January, entitled "Beelzebub's Oration to the Distillers." Public opinion, indeed, appeared to be against the distillers, and the prohibition was continued.

The ill-concerted measures of the Newcastle administration, for the defence of the country and the defeat of its enemies, had become an object of derision to all people of sense, and had made all feel the necessity, under the present circumstances, of a more vigorous government. It is true that England had fleets; but her sailors were ill-fed and neglected, and were commanded by officers who had obtained their promotion by money and court favour, and most of whom were distinguished rather by their foppery, or ignorance of naval affairs, than by any of the requisite qualifications of a naval commander. He who would understand the character of the English navy in the middle of the last century, must study it in the novels of Smollett. The uncertain kind of hostilities which had been carried on during the latter part of 1755, and the beginning of 1756, had given satisfaction to none, for it had exposed the country to all the inconveniences of war, without any of its advantages. Even the prizes were not allowed to be confiscated for the benefit of the captors, but were placed under embargo until the two governments of England and France should choose to determine whether they were really at war or at peace. A caricature, already alluded to, published November 13th, 1755, and entitled "Half-War," ridicules this state of things under the figure of an Englishman, who is committing an assault upon a Frenchman, from



HALF-WAR.

whom he is snatching rolls of paper inscribed "Merchantmen" and "Nova Scotia." The Englishman exclaims, "By way of reprisals only!" and the Frenchman, instead of defending himself, is satisfied with the reflection, "Westphalia shall pay for this!" for the French seemed more intent on making acquisitions in Germany, than on resenting the insults to which their flag had been subjected at sea. In the background are seen the different European powers, looking on in expectation of English subsidies. The inscription at the bottom of the print, "By our own native foreigners betray'd," exhibits the popular belief that the backwardness of the rulers of the destiny of Britain at that time in making war, had for its only motive the fear that it would cut off the supply of the foreign luxuries which they valued more than the honour of their country. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Pitt's popularity as a minister was established by the energy which distinguished his foreign policy. He soon gave full scope to the warlike spirit of the country; and, as he had silenced opposition by admitting into his ministry the chiefs of the different parties, he found no further obstructions to his will. He pacified and conciliated the King, by giving a greater support than ever to his German politics; while he carried into our other foreign relations that vigour and activity which had been so signally wanting under his predecessors. William Pitt, indeed, was the minister of war, as Walpole had been the minister of peace. Yet the first hostile operations under Pitt's administration were singularly unsuccessful. The Duke of Cumberland had, at the commencement of his father's ministerial embarrassments, gone over to Hanover to take the command of the confederate army assembled for the defence of the electorate. The Duke took the field towards the end of April. After a number of unskilful movements and useless skirmishes, he retired before the French, and passed the Weser; and on the 26th of July he was totally defeated in the battle of Hastenbeck. The French now became virtually masters of Hanover; and the Duke of Cumberland, allowing himself, by his want of foresight, to be driven into a corner from which he could not escape, was compelled on the 7th of September to sign the disgraceful convention of Closter-Seven, by which the electorate was to be left in the hands of the French till the conclusion of a peace, and the Hanoverian army was to lay down its arms, and be dispersed into different cantonments, under the obligation of remaining inactive during the rest of the war. King George, although he is said to have privately authorised this transaction, expressed openly the greatest anger; and the Duke of Cumberland came home, resigned all his appointments, and retired from an active part in the political intrigues. The name of Hanover was far from popular in England, and the Duke's disastrous campaign soon became a subject of scorn and ridicule. In one of the bitter caricatures published on this occasion, a Frenchman is seen on one side of a river, carrying off a horse, the emblem of Hanover; while on the opposite bank the portly figure of the Duke exclaims in dismay, "My horse! my horse! a kingdom for a

A GENERAL IN DISTRESS.

horse!" The Frenchman retorts by promising to give the horse something "better than turnips." It had been for some years a standing joke to call Hanover the King's *turnip-field;* and in another caricature Hanover is represented as the city of *Turnipolis,* on the bank of a river, on one side of which the French general with his troops, in pursuit, invites the Duke to halt,—"Sar, sar, mon ami! Vat! you no stay for me? Stay one little vile, den I come." The Duke, carrying a standard with the Hanoverian emblem of the horse, is running at his utmost speed on the other side of the river (the Weser, of course), and exclaims, "Oh! for my recruiting-sergeant, with more men and money!" The *recruiting-sergeant* was Fox, in whom, as minister, the Duke of Cumberland had placed his confidence. In a third caricature on the Duke's disaster, the city, placed in the same position as in the foregoing, has over it the inscription, "Save our turnips, oh!"

Another failure came almost at the same moment to increase the popular excitement, and was also made the subject of ridicule and caricature. Pitt had hoped to distract the attention of the French from Germany by making a descent on their coast nearer home, and in the summer a secret expedition was sent out, with much mystery, against the town of Rochefort; but, owing to disagreement among the commanders, the fleet returned home at the beginning of October, without having achieved any of the objects for which it was sent. The consequence was another court-martial, which ended in the acquittal of those who were brought to trial. Pitt had gained strength by the mishaps of the Duke of Cumberland in Hanover, and his popularity was now so firmly established, that the blame of the failure of the naval expedition was easily thrown from his own shoulders upon those of the agents who conducted it. The successes of the King of Prussia emboldened the King of England to break the convention of Closter-Seven, on pretext of the outrages committed by the French, and the electorate was soon recovered out of their hands. The nation was cheered by the intelligence of great and substantial advantages gained by our armies in India; and Pitt was taking active steps to secure our possessions in America. The two following years presented a constant succession of victories by sea and land, which shed an unusual glory on the administration of William Pitt, while they ruined the finances of France at home, destroyed her navy and her commerce, and stripped her of her distant colonies. In 1758 the French settlements in Senegal were captured by a small English force; Cape Breton was recovered from the French; and other advantages were gained on the continent of America. In 1759 the French islands in the West Indies were taken possession of; the capture of Quebec, by the brave but ill-fated Wolfe, made England master of North America; the victories of Boscawen and Hawke completed the destruction of the French navy; and the British empire in India had been firmly established by the wonderful successes of Clive, and the brave officers who were acting with him. The expulsion of the French from North America was in a measure Pitt's own work; and, as Wolfe was one of his own military *protégés*, the public exultation on the taking of Quebec raised still higher the minister who had planned it. The battle of Minden added to the glory of the British arms on the continent of Europe. In the beginning of 1760 rumours had already spread abroad of approaching negotiations for peace; and the English people, in their exultation at the extensive conquests of the last two years, began to express their fears lest any of these advantages should be relinquished, in the same manner in which it was believed that so much had been unnecessarily surrendered in former treaties.

It was in the midst of this glory of conquest that George the Second quitted the stage. He died suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, on the morning of the 25th of October, 1760, leaving his family at length firmly established on the throne of England.

CHAPTER VII.

GEORGE II. AND III.

PROGRESS OF LITERATURE: MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS; DR. HILL.—THE REIGN OF PERTNESS.—PREVALENCE OF QUACKERY AND CREDULITY: THE BOTTLE CONJUROR; THE EARTHQUAKE; THE COCK LANE GHOST.—THE STAGE AND THE OPERA: GARRICK AND QUIN; HANDEL; FOOTE.—INFLUENCE OF FRENCH FASHIONS; NATIONAL EXTRAVAGANCE, AND SOCIAL CONDITION.—EXAGGERATED FASHIONS IN COSTUME: HOOP-PETTICOATS AND GREAT HEAD-DRESSES: THE MACARONIS.—NEGLECT OF LITERATURE, AND QUARRELS OF AUTHORS: HOGARTH AND CHURCHILL; SMOLLETT; JOHNSON; CHATTERTON.

Literature continued to experience the neglect of the court through the whole of the reign of George II. and it had been entirely excluded from the palace after the death of Queen Caroline. Some countenance was, it is true, shewn to literary men in the opposition court of Leicester House, but it was rather a parade of patronage, than an efficient or judicious encouragement, and produced little more than a few panegyrical odes. At the same time the literary taste of the day was gradually improving, and it was spreading and strengthening itself in new classes of publications. The newspapers had long been in the habit of devoting a portion of their space to literature, in a form somewhat resembling the French *feuilletons* of the present day, but which was most frequently filled with burlesque, ill-natured criticism, or half-concealed scandal; or, when such productions were harmless, they were of so dull and flimsy a character, as to give us a very low estimate of the taste of the readers who could receive any satisfaction from their perusal. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, the first attempt at a monthly repository of this kind, was begun by Cave, in 1731; its main object at first being to give a summary of the better literary essays which had appeared in the more perishable form of the daily and weekly press, although this part of the plan was soon made subservient to the publication of original papers. This magazine was looked upon as belonging politically to the Whig party, then in the plenitude of power under Sir Robert Walpole, and the *London Magazine* was immediately set up in opposition to it. The success of these two publications led in the course of a few years to a number of imitations, and in 1750 we count no less than eight periodicals of this description, issued monthly, under the titles of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, the *British Magazine*, the *Universal Magazine*, the *Travellers' Magazine*, the *Ladies' Magazine*, the *Theological Magazine*, and the *Magazine of Magazines*. The latter was an attempt, by giving the pith of its monthly contemporaries, to do the same by them as the *Gentleman's Magazine* had first done by the newspapers.

With these periodicals there gradually grew up a new class of writers, known as the Critics. The magazines had from the first given monthly lists of new books, and these lists were subsequently accompanied by short notices of the contents and merits of the principal new publications, while longer notices and abstracts of remarkable works were given as separate articles. This was the origin of the reviews, in the modern sense of the title, which were becoming fashionable in the middle of the last century. In the year 1752 there were three professed reviews, the

Literary Review, the *Monthly Review*, and the *Critical Review*, the latter by the celebrated Smollett. The critics formed a self-constituted tribunal, which the authors long regarded with feelings of undisguised hostility; and an unpalatable review was often the source of bitter quarrels and desperate paper-wars. Their design was looked upon as an unfair attempt to control the public taste. There can be little doubt, however, that the establishment of reviews had an influence in improving the literature of the country.

About the same time that the reviews began to be in vogue, the periodical essayists came again into fashion, and a multitude of that class of publications represented in its better features by the *Adventurers*, *Connoisseurs*, *Ramblers*, &c., that have outlived the popularity of the day, were launched into the world, most of them combining political partisanship with a somewhat pungent censorship of the foibles and vices of the age. This class of periodicals became most numerous soon after the accession of George III. Besides the personal abuse with which many of them abounded, they published a large mass of private scandal, which was perfectly well understood, in spite of the fictitious names under which it was issued, and which formed probably the most marketable portion of the literature of the day. Even in the highest class of the romances of that age, those of Smollett and Fielding, as well as in a multitude of memoirs and novels of a lower description, the greatest charm for the reader consisted in the facility with which he recognised the pictures of well-known individuals, whose private weaknesses were there cruelly brought to light in false or exaggerated colours. It was this peculiar taste in literature which gave the character to the mode of life of that class of writers who then lived by their pen: their days and nights were spent in the coffee-house, the theatre, or the rout, in raking up scandalous anecdotes and intrigues, which they lost no time in drawing up for the papers, which were in daily readiness to receive them. Among the earlier of the essayists of the class alluded to was the *Inspector*, which first brought into notoriety the celebrated Sir John Hill, the "orator Henley" of the literature of his day, who may be taken as the type of the literary quackery of the age of which we are now speaking. The *original* orator Henley was just quitting the scene in which he had gained so much celebrity—he died in 1757.

John Hill was born in 1716. His father, who was a clergyman, placed him as apprentice with a surgeon at Westminster, and, having married early, he set up for himself in that profession, but soon dissatisfied with it, he applied himself to the study of botany, and obtained the patronage of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Petre. This pursuit he also relinquished, and he next applied himself to the stage, and made several unsuccessful attempts as an actor at Drury Lane, and the little theatre in the Haymarket; in the latter of which he performed the part of the quack-doctor in "Romeo and Juliet." He afterwards indulged the spleen occasioned by this failure by decrying the best actors of the day, and he wrote a book on the art, under the title of "The Actor," chiefly with this object. Hill now returned to surgery and botany, and was taken up by Martin Folkes, the president, and some other leading members of the Royal Society, and under their auspices published, in 1746, a tolerably well executed translation of Theophrastus on Gems.

He became thus introduced to the booksellers, and was employed to write a Natural History in three folio volumes, to compile a supplement to Chambers's Dictionary, and then to edit the *British Magazine.* With the latter Hill set up in the full character of a popular writer, and at the same time broke with his patrons in science. On the publication of his Supplement to Chambers, he made an attempt to obtain admission into the Royal Society; but, his unprincipled character being now well known, he was rejected, and, in revenge, abused Folkes and his former friends, and attacked the Society in a scurrilous review of its publications, and published a hoax upon it in a clever though ridiculous pamphlet (under the pseudonyme of Abraham Johnson) entitled "Lucina sine Concubitu," in which he pretended to shew that generation might take place without the intercourse of the sexes. This book made some noise at the time, and gave birth to several other pamphlets. Hill now obtained a foreign diploma of doctor-in-medicine, drove about in his chariot, and took upon himself all the airs of a fashionable author. His overweening vanity made him an object of ridicule: he strutted about with an affected air, was a regular attendant at the theatres and places of amusement, exhibited himself at the fashionable lounges, aped the manners of a fop, and *pretended* to enjoy the favours of ladies of quality. Yet he was a ready and prolific writer, and he now attempted to shine in almost every walk of literature, as well as in science. The so oft parodied lines were again applied to him, in connexion with orator Henley and a noted quack of the time named Rock:—

> "Three great wise men in the same era born,
> Britannia's happy island did adorn:

Henley in cure of souls displayed his skill,
Rock shone in physic, and in both John Hill;
The force of nature could no farther go,
To make a third she join'd the other two."

Of his lighter productions, the "Memoirs of Lady Frail" (a false history of the frailties of Lady Harriet Vane) made considerable noise. In fact, no writer was so unscrupulous as Hill in publishing private scandal, and in adding to it from his own invention. After a while he was seized with a passion of writing for the stage; but it was not till 1758, that he prevailed on Garrick to bring out his farce of "The Rout," which was damned on the second night. Garrick's epigram on the occasion will not soon be forgotten:—

" For physic and farces, his equal there scarce is:
His farces are physic, his physic a farce is."

Perhaps no man was ever so bold an adept in literary quackery as Dr. Hill. As if with the intention of throwing all his contemporary essayists in the shade, he commenced, in the spring of 1752, a *daily* essay, under the title of the *Inspector*, which was first published in the *Daily Advertiser*, and was afterwards collected into two octavo volumes. During this year the pen of Dr. Hill was so active, that he is said to have cleared by his writings no less a sum than fifteen hundred pounds! Some of the *Inspectors* consisted of essays on subjects connected with natural history (especially of microscopic observations), described in an absurdly conceited and pompous style.* On the Saturday of each week he gave a sort of moral discourse, intended to be suitable for the following day. But many of the essays were composed of the scandal which he had gathered up in his daily or nightly perambulation of the town; others contained unprovoked and unjust attacks on his contemporaries; in some he hinted at his own successes among ladies of quality; and by no means unfrequently he wrote letters to himself, setting forth in no measured terms the praise of his own talents and virtues. It is not to be wondered at if he thus provoked hostility in every quarter. One of the first persons who shewed his resentment was Woodward, the actor, who went to George's coffee-house with the intention of giving Hill a public castigation; but missing his man, he first published a violent pamphlet against him, in which he made public all his early disappointments in seeking stage notoriety, and he then brought him on the stage in a farce under the character of the "Mock Doctor."* Another quarrel took a still more serious character. The *Inspector* of the 30th of April embodied a scurrilous attack upon an Irish gentleman of the name of Brown, giving, as usual, a distorted account of some private transactions, and holding up that gentleman in the character of a rake, a coxcomb, and a

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* In some of his scientific (?) essays in the *Inspector*, Dr. Hill attained the very perfection of the *bathos*. Some of his antagonists delighted in pointing out descriptions like the following. Speaking of a little stream or ditch: "The translucent waves coursed

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one another down the light declivity, with an inexpressibly pleasing variety of form, and a confused but very soft noise of bubbling, lashing, and murmuring, among, against, and along the inequalities and meanders of its rough sides and various hollows." Of a pond: "The surface of the bason was a polished plane, unfurrowed by the least motion, unruffled by the gentlest breeze; the setting sun threw a glow of pale splendour over one half of it, the rest was silent shade." Of weeds, &c. gathered to one corner of a ditch: "The fresh breeze had blown together into this part of the watery expanse whatever floated on or near its surface," &c.

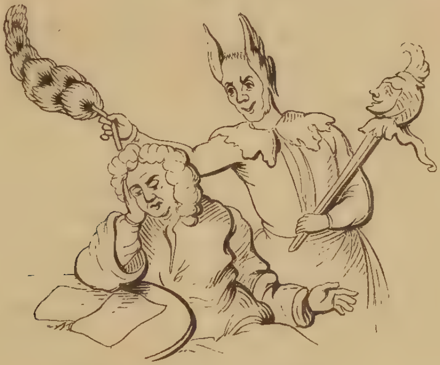
* The "Mock Doctor" was given repeatedly at Drury Lane in 1751 or 1752.

coward. Although Brown's name was not mentioned, the allusions could not be mistaken, and he called upon Dr. Hill for an explanation. The latter made a shuffling answer, treated Brown with insolence, and in another *Inspector* gave a vain-glorious account of his own conduct, and treated the character of his offended antagonist with greater contempt than ever, accusing him, among other things, of being so illiterate that he could not write his mother-tongue correctly. On the evening of the 6th of May Brown went to Ranelagh, and meeting Dr. Hill in the passage, he demanded proper satisfaction for the attack, and, on this being refused, insulted him publicly by pulling him by the ear. Dr. Hill made a great uproar, procured a warrant against his assailant, pretended that an attempt had been made to murder him, that he had been overpowered by numbers and beaten till he was seriously injured, and took to his bed. Brown surrendered himself to the magistrate, and, it being stated that Dr. Hill was in no danger, he was allowed to give bail for his appearance on a future day, to answer any charge brought against him; and, when that day arrived, no one appearing against him, he was discharged. But Dr. Hill and his friends published and spread abroad sedulously all kinds of false statements, magnifying his own courage and the brutality of his pretended assailants, and making up a story that was aptly compared with Falstaff's relation of his encounter with the redoubtable men in buckram. The affair made an extraordinary noise, and a multitude of pens and pencils were raised against the unpopular Doctor. On the 29th of May two large caricatures were published; the first of which represents a view of the entrance to Ranelagh, in which Brown is seen pulling the ear of

Conflictu; or, a true narrative of the untimely death of Dr. Atall, who departed this life on Wednesday the 13th of May, 1752: with some account of his behaviour during his illness." This tract gives a burlesque account of the whole affair, and intimates that it was probably a deeply-laid plot of the French government to get out of the way a political writer of such overwhelming importance as the English Inspector.

Although this affair had turned greatly to Dr. Hill's disgrace, it put no check upon his personal criticisms. Among others who were outraged by his pen were Fielding and Garrick, the latter of whom he attempted to depreciate in comparison with his rival Quin. Fielding, under the assumed name of Sir Alexander Drawcansir, in retaliation, commenced the *Covent Garden Journal*, in which he treated the character of Dr. Hill with the greatest contempt, and proclaimed a general war against the old forces of Grubb Street, and the new squadron of the critics, headed by Smollett. It was a spirited attack on the depraved popular taste. These literary quarrels always merged into the great rivalries of the day, and such was the case in the present instance; for Fielding not only entered on a crusade against Hill and literary quackery, but he took up the cudgels for Garrick and Drury Lane against Quin and Rich, who occupied the rival stage at Covent Garden. Dr. Hill also found partisans to support him. As the Inspector had been brought on the stage in one theatre, so now there was performed on the boards at Covent Garden, "A new dramatic satire, called 'Covent Garden Theatre; or, Pasquin turned Drawcansir, censor of Great Britain.'" A scurrilous opposition paper was also started, under the title of *Have at you all; or, the Drury Lane Journal.* The *Covent Garden*

Journal was carried on for several months, until Fielding's declining health obliged him to relinquish it: he died in 1754. The Inspector was attacked from a variety of other quarters, and the two prints above described were not the only caricatures in which he figured. A print undated appears to represent this pseudo-philosopher occupied in his morning studies, with papers before him on some of his trifling subjects of natural history, and surrounded by the books from which he compiled his lucubrations. The figure of folly, with the ears of an ass, is decking his vain head with peacock's plumage.



THE INSPECTOR GLORIFIED.

Dr. Hill's personal criticisms became every day more and more petulant and general, until at length he actually made an attack upon himself. On the 13th of August, 1752, he published the first number of a new periodical, under the very appropriate title of the *Impertinent*, in which he wrote a critique on himself, Fielding, and Christopher Smart, a contemporary poet of some repute, but now nearly forgotten, the object of which was more especially to abuse the writings of the latter. The critique commenced with stating, in his flippant style, that "There are men who write because they have wit; there are those who write because they are hungry; there are some of the modern authors who have a constant fund of both these causes;" and proceeds to illustrate the sage remark by observing, "Of the first, one sees an instance in Fielding; Smart, with equal right, stands foremost among the second; of the third, the mingled wreath belongs to Hill." The *Impertinent* never reached a second number. As soon as its failure was publicly known, the *Inspector*, with matchless effrontery, took notice of it in the following terms:—

> "Of all the periodical pieces set up in vain during the last eighteen months, I shall mention only the most *pert*, the most pretending, and *short-lived* of all. I have in vain sent for the second number of the *Impertinent*. There must have been *indignation* superior even to curiosity, in the sentence passed on this *assuming piece;* and the public deserves *applause* of the *highest kind*, for having crushed in the bud so threatening a mischief. It will be in vain to accuse the town of patronizing *dulness* or *ill-nature*, while this instance can be produced, in which a *load* of *personal satire* could not procure purchasers enough to promote a second number. It will not be easy to say too much in favour of that candour, which has *rejected* and *despised* a piece that cruelly and unjustly attacked Mr. Smart," &c.

Within a few days it was generally known that the author of the first number of the *Impertinent* was the same Dr. Hill who thus exulted over its fall in the *Inspector;* and the magazines, at the end of the month, joined together in making still more public this instance of literary cowardice in the man who, when his new attempt had been thus contemptuously rejected, joined in the popular censure, "as a detected felon, when he is pursued, cries out 'Stop thief!' and hopes to escape in the crowd that follows him." The person more especially attacked, Christopher Smart, turned round upon his assailant, and published a bitter satire under the title of "The Hilliad," in which his principles and pursuits are set forth under the character of Hillario. This rather remarkable poem opens with an indignant address to the prototype of its hero :—

> "O thou, whatever name delight thine ear,
> Pimp! Poet! Puffer! 'Pothecary! Player!
> Whose baseless fame by vanity is buoy'd,
> Like the huge earth self-center'd in the void."

Hillario is brought into communication with a fortune-telling gipsy, whose prophecy of future celebrity induces him to fly from the apothecary's shop. On his entrance to publicity he is received and welcomed by a group of assistants, "the miscellaneous throng," consisting of Petulance, Dulness, Malice, Scandal, Nonsense, Falsehood, Vanity, and their associates. The subjects on which he was accustomed to hold forth, and which were to support his fame, are next described :—

> "Moths, mites, and maggots, fleas (a numerous crew!),
> And gnats and grub-worms, crowded on his view;
> Insects, without the microscopic aid,
> Gigantic by the eye of dulness made.'

The noise Hillario makes in the midst of these occupations disturbs the gods in their conclave above, and Jupiter inquires angrily what the turbulent creature is. Mercury, (the patron of thieves,) and Venus, whose favour the vain Doctor pretended that he enjoyed, speak in his favour. The goddess dwells especially on the foppery of his character :—

> "If there be any praise the nails to pare,
> And in soft ringlets wreathe th' elastic hair,

In talk and tea* to trifle time away,
The mien so easy and the dress so gay—
Can my Hillario's worth remain unknown?
With whom coy Sylvia trusts herself alone;
With whom, so pure, so innocent his life,
The jealous husband leaves his bosom wife.
What though he ne'er assume the port of Mars,
By me disbanded from all amorous wars,
His fancy (if not person) he employs,
And oft ideal countesses enjoys.
Though hard his heart, yet beauty shall controul
And sweeten all the rancour of his soul;
While his black self, Florinda, ever near,
Shews like a diamond in an Ethiop's ear."

Other deities interfere, and speak with contempt of the hero; and it is proposed that he shall be allowed to proceed in his course, as a thing too insignificant to occupy the attention of the celestials. Momus, the god of ridicule, at last gives him his true character, and Fame blows it abroad.

Nevertheless, in the latter years of the reign of George II., Hill obtained the favour of Lord Bute; and, his literary reputation failing him, he returned to surgery and botany, obtained a temporary establishment in the gardens at Kew, was knighted, and was enabled, by Lord Bute, to give to the world some magnificent, if not very meritorious, botanical works. He married, in second wedlock, a sister of Lord Ranelagh, who, after his death, (which occurred in 1775,) published a pamphlet which seemed to say that he had not derived any permanent advantage from the patronage of Lord Bute. In 1779, an extravagantly panegyrical memoir of Sir John Hill was printed at Edinburgh, price sixpence.

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* Tea was still an article used only in fashionable society; and Dr. Hill, in his writings, seeks every occasion of letting his readers know that he indulges in this beverage in the morning, that they may appreciate the kind of society he wishes it to be understood he moves in, and the fashionable elegance of his private life.

Dr. Hill has deserved our notice, as a somewhat exaggerated type of the fashionable literary men of the latter half of the reign of George II. Dulness, the goddess who presided over Grub Street in the days of Pope, was resigning her sceptre to another goddess not less fatal to good taste, Pertness, who was removing the seat of power farther west. It was a sovereignty which had risen up with the critics and feuilletonists. A popular satire that appeared about the end of 1752, under the title of "The Pasquinade," when the notoriety of Hill was at its height, has celebrated this new empire. This poem opens with an invocation to the doctor, with allusions to his Chloes, Daphnes, and Amandas:—

> "O chief in verse! O ev'ry Muse's care!
> Pride of each mortal and immortal fair!
> Whether enraptur'd with Urania's charms,
> Or sunk in Chloe or Amanda's arms;
> Whether eternal bays thy temples grace,
> Or thy lac'd night-cap well supplies their place;
> Whether with goddess, or with earthly qual,
> You saunter down Parnassus, or the Mall;
> Or, in philosophy profoundly wise,
> You pore intent with microscopic eyes,
> New worlds discover in a Catherine pear,*
> Or monsters animate in sour small beer."

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* In one of the *Inspectors* the Doctor had detailed some extraordinary observations made on a rotten pear, in an affected style of extravagant and bombastic description, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:—"It was but a very small portion of the covered surface of the pear that could be brought within the area of the microscope; but this appeared, under its influence, a *wide extent of territory, varied with hills and lawns, with winding hollows, open plains, and shadowy thickets.*"

Hill boasted perpetually of his familiarity with the Muses, who are therefore invoked for their pretended favourite:—

> "Hear, then, ye daughters of immortal Jove!
> By the soft vows of your Inspector's love,
> If not, too jealous of each other's flame,
> You slight the lover for a rival's claim;
> Or, if his gallantry superior charms,
> And all the nine, in concert, fill his arms,
> Like his familiar Daphnes here below,
> Blessing at once the poet and the beau;
> Hear and support me in your favourite's cause,
> Inspire my song and crown me with applause."

Dulness, whose empire had been placed by Pope among "the tatter'd ensigns of Rag-Fair," now raised her head higher and took possession of the Mansion House and the city, when the new sovereign appeared and established her head-quarters in the vicinity of May-Fair. The latter had for her subjects the critics and the journalists, and she was sometimes obliged to seek support even among the boxers of Broughton's.

> "Where now behold, in glitt'ring pomp ascend
> A sister queen, a goddess, and a friend:
> Immortal Pertness, sprung from chaos old,
> Inconstant, active, giddy, light, and bold,
> Restless and fickle, as her rumbling sire,
> Blind as her mother, Night, could well desire.
> Wrought by some power divine, in equal pride,
> Her throne ascended by her sister's side.
> Where hunted ducks traverse the muddy stream,
> And dogs initiate their whelps to swim,
> Monsters and fools assemble once a year,
> And juggling Hymen* celebrates May-Fair,

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* An allusion to Keith's chapel, where the Marriage Act was evaded on a very extensive scale. These lines describe the district of May-Fair as it appeared in the middle of the last century. The "palace" was May-Fair Wells, where there was a private theatre,

This goddess dwelt. Just rais'd above the ground,
Her palace varnish'd, silver deck'd around.
Here stood her Mercury, here she nursed her apes;*
Here magpies chatter'd in a hundred shapes:
Jackdaws and parrots join'd the unmeaning noise
Of templars, coxcombs, prigs, and 'prentice boys.
Far hence the goddess spread her kingdom wide,
To Dulness, as in birth, in power allied.
She, from her native Grub Street to Rag-Fair,
South to the Mint and west to Temple-Bar
Included every garrison'd retreat—
Bedlam, Crane-court, the Counters, and the Fleet:
Her sister boasted as extensive sway;
Fierce Broughton's bruizing sons her power obey;
St. Giles's, George's, and the famous train
Of Bedford, Bow Street, and of Drury Lane.
Even to the licens'd Park her chiefs resort,
And seize the priv'lege of great George's court."

The two goddesses determine upon a strict alliance, celebrate a grand festival, and review their several forces, consisting of a multitude of obscure names, then active in their different departments in the field of literature, but now so entirely forgotten, that it would be of little utility to rehearse their titles. At length Pertness discovers her favourite Hill:—

"All these the sister queens with joy confess'd,
For lo! their essence glow'd in every breast!
But Pertness saw her form distinctly shine
In none, immortal Hill! so full as thine.
Drinking thy morning chocolate in bed,
She saw thy Daphne's neck support thy head;

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much resorted to by "clerks and 'prentices," where young aspirants to dramatic fame made their appearance. Hill, before he attained so much celebrity, is said to have acted here, but unsuccessfully.

* Pope had said of Dulness, "here stood her *opium*, here she nurs'd her *owls*." The difference between the attributes of Dulness and Pertness, of the old school and the new one, is marked.

> Saw thee slip on thy night-gown, and retire
> To muse profoundly by thy parlour fire:
> By turns thy slippers dangling on thy toes—
> Slippers that never were disgraced from shoes!
> Saw where thy learning in huge volumes stood,
> Part letter'd sheep, part gilt and painted wood."

The goddess points him out with pride to her sister Dulness:—

> "When thus the goddess of May-Fair bespoke
> Her royal sister. 'Gentle sister, look;
> See where my son, who gratefully repays
> Whate'er I lavish'd on his younger days;
> Whom still my arm protects to brave the town,
> Secure from Fielding, Machiavel, or Brown;
> Whom rage nor sword e'er mortally shall hurt—
> Chief of a hundred chiefs o'er all the *Pert!*
> Rescued an orphan babe from Common-sense,
> I gave his mother's milk to Confidence;
> *She*, with her own ambrosia, bronz'd his face,
> And changed his skin to monumental brass:
> This Shame, or Wit, successless shall oppose,
> Unless, so will the Fates, they seize his nose.
> This luckless part the young Achilles lick'd;
> And though he cannot blush, he may be kick'd.
> Yet still his pen provokes the Fates' decree,
> In scandal dipt and elemental tea.'"

Dulness and Pertness agree to adopt this hero as their common favourite, and to put an end to the war between their respective hosts; and the former promises to stifle the ire which had been nursed in the breast of *her* Smart, whose rivalry with the new constellation had agitated so violently their different realms.

Dr. Hill stands forth as a type not only of literary but also of medical quackery, the wide prevalence of which was among the distinguishing characteristics of the period of which we are now speaking. We have, in the pages of "Roderick Random," a good picture of the usual character of the medical practitioners of the middle of the eighteenth century. Amid the general venality, degrees and honours were not always a proof of merit in the individual upon whom they were bestowed; and from this cause, or from the wide-spread spirit of credulity, people sought with more eagerness the nostrum of the quack than the experience of the proficient. Under these circumstances, a host of pretenders preyed upon the health and constitutions of their fellow-countrymen, and the newspapers are filled during many successive years with the never-failing virtues of the panaceas of Dr. Rock, of the Anodyne-Necklace man (Burchell), and their fellows. For several years, about the middle of the century, a sort of diminutive crusade was carried on against quackery, but with no great success, and it seems in a great measure to have turned upon, or dwindled into, personal quarrels. A number of serious pamphlets on the pernicious effects of the system of pills, powders, and draughts, which were trumped forth into the world by newspaper advertisements, were published under respectable names, or anonymously; while satires and burlesques tended to turn them to ridicule, and the more remarkable quacks of the day were set forth in their true colours and attributes in prints and caricatures.* In a mock letter from Dr. Rock "to a physician at Bath," the popular empiric is made to improve upon the extraordinary properties of the numerous quack medicines then in vogue. "Imprimis," he says, "there is my famous *sympathetical family pill.*

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* A general satire on the medical profession, under the title of "The Quackade, by Whirligig Bolus, Esq.," was published in 1752; but its allusions are too obscurely personal and uninteresting, to call for any further notice here.

Let the master of any family, or the mistress if she be master, take one of these at night going to bed, and another in the morning fasting, and they shall not only be well purged themselves, but the whole family, men, women, and children, shall equally participate of the same benefit." Among the various other advantages of these pills, we are told, "For instance, when a fine lady has been to go to a rout or to a ridotto, what does the ill-natured husband do, but take my pills very privately, and then, poor soul, she dares not venture out of doors, and, if she did, can have neither coachman nor footman to attend her." After these are, "Secondly, my *intentional purging pills*. . . . The person who takes them need only say to himself, 'It is my intention these pills should purge my wife as much as they do me; my boy Jack half as much as they do me; my daughter Molly once less than Jack; that liquorish hussey Nan, that steals half the sweetmeats, and eats half the fruit in the garden, ten times as much as they do me; and that rascal Tom, that is perpetually at the ale-house, twenty times as much as they do me, for five days successively.' Upon this the wished for event infallibly follows." There was perhaps in this a sly sarcasm at the doctrine of sympathies, which merged into animal magnetism.

Among the multitude of nostrums of doubtful efficacy or of an injurious character which were manufactured at this period, sprung up some of the best recommended remedies, and the greatest improvements in modern medicine, which were as much satirised and objected to at first as the claims of the lowest pretenders. At the time when there was an absolute rage for Bishop Berkeley's tar-water, the introduction of inoculation for the small-pox was cried down with the most persevering obstinacy. The fever-powder of Dr. James, a man of high respectability in his profession, was long violently opposed by the faculty; in spite of which (perhaps we might say, by favour of which) it quickly rose in popularity, and enriched its inventor. Horace Walpole was an enthusiastic votary of James's powder, which he seems to have regarded as a sovereign preventive for almost all diseases. He writes to Sir Horace Mann, in October, 1764, "James's powder is my panacea, that is, it always shall be, for, thank God, I am not apt to have occasion for medicines; but I have such faith in these powders, that I believe I should take it if the house were on fire." When Dr. James's opponents found that they could not hinder the sale of his powders, they turned round and said that he was not the inventor, but that he had stolen the recipe from a man named Baker, who had it of a German Baron Schwanberg. In a caricature published against him in 1754, entitled "A Reply for the present to the unknown Author of Villany Detected," the Doctor is represented stepping from his carriage to act the part of a highwayman towards the right claimant to the secret, who is administering charity to a poor man, and receiving his blessing in return. Dr. James takes the opportunity of stealing the powders from his pocket (some of the packets falling to the ground), and at the same time holds a

THE MEDICAL HIGHWAYMAN.

dagger to strike him, while he says, *aside*, "By which I keep my chariot, in luxury live, and think of no hereafter." The ghost of a man (perhaps the German baron) rises from the ground beside him, and exclaims, "Thou perjured villain! thou hast robbed my friend of the fever-powders!"

The easy credulity and superstition of the English people at this period, cherished and increased by the preaching and writings of a number of fanatical sectarians, was exhibited in many other circumstances besides their belief in quack medicines, and made them the dupes of several practical jokes, and intentional or involuntary impositions. The ridiculous imposture of the rabbit-woman of Godalming, which had been favoured by some members of the medical profession, had afforded a striking instance of national credulity in the earlier part of the century. The "gullibility" of the public was illustrated in a still more remarkable manner in 1749, when some facetious individual (who he was has never been discovered) put in effect a practical joke of no ordinary description. On the 16th of January, the daily papers contained the following advertisement, slightly varied:—*

"At the New Theatre in the Haymarket, this present day, to be seen a person who performs the several most surprising things following; viz. First he takes a common walking cane from any of the spectators, and thereon he plays the music of every instrument now in use, and likewise sings to surprising perfection. Secondly, he presents you with a common wine-bottle, which any of the spectators may first examine; this bottle is placed on a table in the middle of the stage, and he (without any equivocation) goes into it, in the sight of all the spectators, and sings in it: during his stay in the bottle, any person may handle it, and see plainly that it does not exceed a common tavern bottle.

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* It is here given from the *General Advertiser* of Jan. 16, 1749.

"Those on the stage or in the boxes may come in masked habits (if agreeable to them), and the performer (if desired) will inform them who they are.

"Stage, 7*s.* 6*d.* Boxes, 5*s.* Pit, 3*s.* Gallery, 2*s.*

"To begin at half an hour after six o'clock."

It was added in a postscript, that the performance had been witnessed by most of the crowned heads of Asia, Africa, and Europe; and the operator promised, for a further gratuity, some other extraordinary exhibitions. In spite of the absurdity of this announcement, and of another advertisement in some of the papers, of the arrival of the wonderful Signor Jumpedo, who, among other things, undertook to jump down his own throat, no suspicion appears to have been entertained of the real character of the hoax, and at the hour advertised a very crowded audience had assembled in the theatre, a large portion of which consisted of persons of quality, and among them was the Duke of Cumberland. There was no music, and the only apparatus on the stage was a table covered with green baize, with a common quart bottle on it. The company sat quietly till towards seven o'clock, when they became extremely impatient, and the house resounded with cat-calls and other equally intelligible expressions of dissatisfaction. A man then came forward to announce that the performer had not yet made his appearance, and some one (it was said to have been Samuel Foote, who performed at this theatre, and was then in the boxes), apparently with the idea of pacifying the audience, said, "that the money would be returned if he did not come." A man in the pit shouted out at the same time waggishly, that if they would come again the next night, and double the price, the conjuror would go into a pint bottle. Upon this a candle was thrown from one of the boxes on the stage, which was the signal for a general uproar. The ladies and the more peaceful visitors rushed out of the theatre, and escaped only with a general loss of hats, coats, &c. The Duke of Cumberland lost his diamond-hilted sword; and on this being known, some in the crowd shouted, "Billy the Butcher has lost his knife!" Those who remained in the theatre proceeded from one outrage to another, until they had broken up the boxes, benches, and every particle of woodwork that could be removed, and torn down the curtains and scenes, which were soon piled up in the street before the house in one immense bonfire. In the meantime the alarm had been given, and a party of foot-guards hurried to the spot; but the rioters had fled, and the soldiers arrived only in time to warm themselves at the fire.

The next day John Potter, the proprietor of the theatre, inserted a letter in the newspapers, making an apology to the public for having let the house unwittingly to the impostor, and complaining of the injustice done to him personally by the destruction of his property; and Foote, who was suspected by some of having been accessory to the imposition, wrote a similar letter excusing himself. These letters were continued as advertisements during several days. But others took up the matter much less seriously, and for a week or two after the newspapers contained not unfrequently burlesque announcements of extraordinary performances, like the following, which is found in the *General Advertiser* of the 21st of January:—

"*Lately arrived from Ethiopia,*

The most wonderful and surprising Doctor Benimbe Zammampoango, oculist and body surgeon to the Emperor of Monœmungi, who will perform on Sunday next, at the little P—— in the Haymarket, the following surprising operations; viz.—

"1st. He desires any one of the spectators only to pull out his own eyes, which as soon as he has done, the doctor will shew them to any lady or gentleman then present, to convince them there is no cheat, and then replace them in the sockets as perfect and entire as ever.

"2nd. He desires any officer or other to rip up his own belly, which when he has done, he (without any equivocation) takes out his guts, washes them, and returns them to their place without the person's suffering the least hurt.

"3rd. He opens the head of a J—— of P—— [*justice of peace*], takes out his brains, and exchanges them for those of a calf; the brains of a beau, for those of an ass; and the heart of a bully for that of a sheep; which operations render the persons more sociable and rational creatures than they ever were in their lives.

"And to convince the town that no imposition is intended, he desires no money until the performance is over.

"Boxes, 5 gu. Pit, 3. Gal., 2.

"N.B.—The famous oculist will be there, and honest S—— F——.* H—— will come if he can. Ladies may come masked, so may fribbles. The faculty and clergy gratis. The Orator would be there, but is engaged."

"The Man in the Bottle" became immediately the hero of several satirical pamphlets on the folly and credulity of the age, besides making his appearance in ballads and caricatures. Two of the caricatures, published in the course of January, were entitled "The Bottle-Conjuror from Head to Foot, without equivocation," and

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* This probably means Samuel Foote. The next initial perhaps refers to Dr. Hill. The oculist was a noted quack of the time, and the orator was of course Henley. It is a satire on the different sorts of quackery then prevalent. During this year the quacks were brought on the stage in several farces, such as "The Mock Doctor," at Covent Garden, "The Anatomist, or the sham doctor."

"English Credulity; or, ye 're all bottled." In the latter Folly is leading by a string to the bottle-conjuror's table, a group of characters distinguished in arms, law, physic, &c. A sword, alluding to the Duke of Cumberland's loss, is flying away, and a fiend is in pursuit for the proffered reward of thirty guineas. Britannia turns away her face in shame—"Oh! my sons!" In another print, as a companion to the Bottle, harlequin is represented in a very ingenious manner, jumping down his own throat. On the 26th of January, and for some time after, the play-bills added to the announcement of the pantomime of Apollo and Daphne, "In which will be introduced a new scene of the escape of harlequin into a quart-bottle;" and in the summer, a new comedy, called "The Magician; or, the bottle-conjuror," was acted at the smaller theatres. For many years afterwards the bottle-conjuror was a standing joke upon English folly.

Yet, within a year, the credulity of our countrymen was again exhibited in a still more extraordinary occurrence. Several smart shocks of earthquakes were felt throughout England about the middle of the last century. The beginning of the year 1750 had been unusually stormy and tempestuous. On the 8th of February, the inhabitants of London were alarmed by a rumbling noise, and a shock, which shook all the houses with such violence that the house-bells rang, and the furniture and utensils were moved from their places. On the same day of the next month a second shock was felt, between the hours of five and six in the morning, which was considerably more intense than the former, and caused the greater consternation, because it awoke people from their sleep. Smollett, who was present in London at the time, tells us that it was preceded by a succession of thick, low flashes of lightning, and a rumbling noise like that of a heavy carriage rolling over a hollow pavement. "The shock itself," he says, "consisted of repeated vibrations, which lasted some seconds, and violently shook every house from top to bottom. Many persons started from their beds, and ran to their doors and windows in dismay." The alarm occasioned by these two earthquakes was seized upon by the religious enthusiasts of the day as an opportunity for admonishing their fellow-countrymen against the immorality and profaneness which then so widely pervaded English society, and they hesitated not to declare that the earthquakes had been sent as special marks of the displeasure of heaven against the prevailing sins of the people. The Church, in some degree, caught up the same cry, and a pastoral letter of the Bishop of London was the subject of severe strictures. Books on earthquakes and their effects were bought up with great eagerness, and were issued from the press with equal rapidity; and people began to look forward with apprehension to the probability of a third shock, which might be still more severe. These apprehensions were gaining ground towards the end of March, when a soldier of the life-guards, who had been driven mad by attending the preaching of religious enthusiasts, ran about the town, crying out that on the same day four weeks after the last shock (which would be Thursday, the 5th of April), another earthquake, of a much more formidable character, would swallow up the whole metropolis and destroy its inhabitants, as a punishment for their sins; and that Westminster

Abbey would be buried in the ruins, and disappear for ever. The prophet was arrested, and placed in a mad-house, but this did not calm the fears of the multitude, which increased as the fatal day approached; and even many of those who had at first combated these ridiculous fears, began insensibly to imbibe the contagion. The popular credulity was so great, that on the 1st of April some hundreds of people went through a heavy rain to Edmonton, upon the report that a hen had laid an egg there the day before, on which was inscribed in large capital letters the words "*Beware of the third shock!*" During the following days, many people, who possessed the means of absenting themselves, left London under different excuses, and repaired to various parts of the kingdom. Read's *Weekly Journal* of the 7th of April informs us, that "Thirty coaches, filled with genteel-looking people, were, at Wednesday noon, at Slough, running away from the prognosticated earthquake;" and adds, "And it is known that 34 P——s, 94 C——rs, and two P——ds of ——, fled to different parts of the kingdom this week on the same account, in order to avoid the vengeance denounced against them by a late pastoral letter." All the roads leading from London to the country were thronged; and in the course of Wednesday afternoon, whole families locked up their houses, and went into the open fields outside the metropolis, which were filled with an incredible number of people, assembled in chairs and carriages as well as on foot, who waited in trembling suspense until the return of day convinced most of them of the groundlessness of their apprehensions. Many, however, still insisted that it was a mistake in the day, and that the earthquake would occur on Sunday the 8th, as they should have counted the day of the month, and not that of the week.

The ridicule thrown upon this affair, after the day was past, was as great as the apprehensions which had preceded it. In the account given in the *Universal Magazine*, we are told, "It is observed by the hackney-coachmen and chairmen, that none of the great folks went out of town to avoid the fulfilling of the madman's prophecy about the earthquakes, but such whose curiosity led them to see the conjuror creep into the glass bottle." Lists of the "nobility, gentry, and others," who had fled from the town, were printed and handed about; and satirical tracts were published under such titles as "A full and true Account of the dreadful and melancholy Earthquake," which were so arranged as to furnish a meal of political and private scandal to those who loved to fatten on such food. Other pamphlets dwelt more seriously on the impiety of setting up to be interpreters of the inscrutable designs of Providence. In the course of the month of April this event produced two caricatures, the first entitled "The Military Prophet; or, a flight from Providence;" the other, "The Panick; or, the force of frighted imagination."

For twelve years, English credulity was allowed to spend itself in trifling ebullitions, and it offers little to arrest our attention. But at the end of that period, an affair more ridiculous, if possible, than any of the preceding, agitated the public; it had had its conjuror and its earthquake—the new subject of attraction was *a ghost.* The fame of the Cock Lane ghost has in some sort outlived the memory of bottle-conjuror or military prophet. A Mr. Kent, who lived with the sister of his deceased wife, had occupied lodgings in

Cock Lane, Smithfield, at the house of a Mr. Parsons, but, having quarrelled with his landlord, he removed to a house in Clerkenwell, where his companion, who is known in the story by the name of Miss Fanny, died of the small-pox. Parsons, to revenge himself upon Mr. Kent, declared that the ghost of Miss Fanny haunted the room of his daughter, (with whom she had slept during Kent's absence from town,) and had charged Kent with having poisoned her. On examination, mysterious knockings and scratchings were heard at night about the girl's bed; and the report being spread abroad by papers and pamphlets, a concourse of people, many of them of the highest rank and character, visited the house during successive nights: the surrounding streets were filled with mobs, and an extraordinary sensation was created throughout London. Suspicions of trickery, however, soon arose among the more sensible part of the visitors; the child was removed to another house, and separated from her friends, when the result was unsatisfactory, and the ghost failed in its promise to signify its presence in the vault where Miss Fanny was buried, which had been visited by a select party. After this, the child was detected, and made a confession, and all the persons concerned in the imposture were prosecuted and severely punished. The details of this affair, which occurred in the beginning of the year 1762, are too ridiculous to deserve repeating; it gave rise to a number of pamphlets; made ghost stories popular throughout the country for several months, and brought them on the stage; and produced the long rambling satirical poem of "The Ghost" from the pen of Churchill.

The stage was exciting public attention in an unusual degree for some years, at the middle of the last century, from a variety of circumstances; and the moral tendency of the stage itself, the policy of its advocates, the characters of the performers, their personal disputes, and the rivalry of different companies, afforded matter for a continual issue of pamphlets in prose and verse, and a few prints and caricatures. The general character of the performances differed little since the reign of George I.; for pantomimes and burlesques had established themselves permanently in popular favour, and they now went on hand in hand with the regular drama. Amid the rivalries alluded to, and supported by some of the best actors who have ever trod the English stage, the plays of the great English bard were gaining daily in popularity.

It has already been noticed, that besides the licensed theatres, there was a theatre far east in Goodman's Fields, where a company of players had long been allowed by forbearance to act, because it was thought probably that they did not much affect the audiences of the houses at the West End. It was here that amateurs sometimes gratified their vanity without risk, and it served also as a sort of school for many who afterwards figured on the boards of Drury Lane and Covent Garden. It was at this theatre, that, on the 19th of October, 1741, David Garrick first made his appearance on a London stage; and, in the character of Richard the Third, he gained such universal admiration, that within a few days the larger theatres were almost deserted, and Goodman's Fields presented the unusual spectacle of crowds of carriages from St. James's and Grosvenor Square. Quin, who had been engaged at Drury Lane, had hitherto been considered as the first tragic actor on the English stage, and, alarmed at Garrick's success, he did all in his power to cry him down, but in vain. The patentees of the two great theatres were still more alarmed at the deficiency of their receipts, and they prepared at last to take those measures against the unlicensed theatre of the east end, that forced the latter into a composition, which ended, some months after, in Garrick's final removal to Drury Lane. About the same time, Quin went over to Covent Garden, to oppose Garrick, his jealousy of whom continued unabated. The patent of Drury Lane was at this time in the hands of Charles Fleetwood, who had bought it at a moment when the mismanagement of the former proprietors had reduced it to a very low state, and driven away the best performers. The latter had opened the little theatre in the Haymarket, with some success, but they returned to Drury Lane under Fleetwood, and left their theatre in the Haymarket to a company of French actors. Fleetwood was a man utterly devoid of dramatic taste, and, to the disgust of Garrick, he had brought the tumblers and rope-dancers of Sadler's Wells on the boards of Drury. Other ill-conduct on the part of Fleetwood drove the Drury Lane company to a new revolt; they seceded from the theatre under Garrick and Macklin, and tried to obtain a new patent from the Lord Chamberlain, but in vain. The consequence was, that they were obliged to come to terms with Fleetwood, in which Macklin was made a sacrifice, and quarrelled with Garrick for deserting him. The town took part with Macklin; and when Drury Lane re-opened towards the end of 1743, the theatre presented, for two or three nights, a scene of violent uproar between the partisans of the two actors, which threatened, at one moment, to put a stop to Garrick's acting. Garrick spent the year 1745, and part of 1746, in Dublin, from whence he returned in the May of the latter year, and engaged himself at Covent Garden, under Rich. Fleetwood had, meanwhile, sold his interest in Drury Lane, and it was now under the management of Lacy, with a good share in the proprietorship.

In 1747 began the great rivalry between the two large theatres, under Rich and Lacy, which agitated the theatrical world for some ensuing years. Rich, much against his will, had made a momentary sacrifice of his passion for pantomime, in favour of the regular drama, and engaged Garrick, Quin, Woodward, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Pritchard, and several other good actors. The Drury Lane company numbered among its chief performers, Barry and Macklin, Yates, Mrs. Clive, and Mrs. Woffington. It was the first time that Garrick and Quin had played together, and the superiority of the former was soon acknowledged, to the great mortification and discontent of his rival. Yet, in spite of the superiority which the great actor had given Covent Garden over the rival theatre, Rich was weak enough to treat him with neglect; and Mr. Lacy having obtained a new patent for Drury Lane, ceded one half of it to Garrick, who thus, in the summer of 1747, became joint proprietor and stage-manager of Drury Lane theatre. Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Cibber, and others, followed Garrick to Drury Lane, which was opened with great *éclat* on the 20th of September, 1747; and the following season witnessed a complete revival of Shakspeare and the older dramatists on the stage. Jealousies and frequent quarrels, however, soon broke out in Garrick's company, which furnished materials for the caricaturist during the season of 1748, and the consequence of which was the desertion of Barry and Mrs. Cibber to Covent Garden in 1749, where they joined with Quin and Mrs. Woffington, and thus formed under Rich a dangerous rivalry to the other theatre. In October, 1749, the Covent Garden company opened the theatrical campaign with "Romeo and Juliet," a play in which Barry, and especially Mrs. Cibber had shone with peculiar excellence. Garrick had armed himself for the contest; he had prepared a rival actress in Miss Bellamy, and he produced, to the surprise of his opponents, the same play of "Romeo and Juliet" at Drury Lane, on the very night it came out at Covent Garden. It was a repetition of the war of rival harlequins in the preceding reign. The town was divided for a long time between the two "Romeo and Juliets," which produced a mass of contradictory criticism, and finished by almost emptying both houses, for everybody began to be tired of the monotonous repetition of the same play. A popular epigram of the day spoke distinctly the public feeling—

"*On the Run of 'Romeo and Juliet.'*

"'Well, what's to-night?' says angry Ned,
As up from bed he rouses;
'Romeo again!' and shakes his head,
'Ah! plague on both your houses!'"

Personal jealousies, not only among the actors themselves, but between them and their manager Rich, soon broke up the harmony of the Covent Garden company. Garrick retaliated on their efforts to outshine him by attacking Rich in his own peculiar walk; and at the beginning of 1750 brought out a new pantomime, entitled "Queen Mab," in which Woodward acted the part of harlequin. The great success of this piece, which brought crowded houses for forty nights without intermission, gave rise to a very popular caricature, entitled "The Theatrical Steelyard," in which Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Woffington, Quin, and Barry, are outweighed by Woodward's harlequin and Garrick's Queen Mab. Rich, dressed in the garb of harlequin, lies on the ground expiring. The rivalry of the two theatres continued in this state in the year 1752, in the literary warfare of which period we have seen them so deeply involved. Garrick's backwardness in bringing out new plays had embroiled him with several of the critics of the day.

AN EXPIRING HARLEQUIN.

But, in the middle of his success, an untoward accident came to disturb the triumphs of the English Roscius. The popular feeling against the employment of French actors, which had been shewn so remarkably in the Westminster election of 1749, was now at its height, having been kept up by several squibs and caricatures. One of the latter, published in 1750, under the title of "Britannia disturb'd; or, an invasion by French vagrants," represents the foreigners forced on Britannia by a band of aristocratic rioters, while she holds in her lap her favourite English players and pantomimists. In 1754, with the hope of raising still higher the theatrical pre-eminence of Drury Lane, Garrick first planned his grand spectacle, brought out in the beginning of November, 1755, under the title of "The Chinese Festival." It had been found necessary to employ a great number of French dancers in this spectacle, the report of which having gone abroad, while the hatred of the French was increased by the breaking out of hostilities and by their conduct in America, a mob assembled in the theatre on the first night with the determination of putting a stop to the performance. Garrick, who had expended a large sum of money on this entertainment, did his utmost, but in vain, to appease the ill-humour; but the fashionable people in the boxes took his part, and the war between the two parties continued with doubtful success during five nights. The sixth night of representation was an opera night, and the strength of the boxes was weakened by the absence of many people of quality. When the riot began several gentlemen of rank jumped from the boxes into the pit, and attempted to seize the ringleaders, and the ladies, who remained in the boxes, pointed out to them the obnoxious persons; but after a long and rude contest, in which some blood was drawn, the united pit and galleries triumphed, and they now wreaked their vengeance on the materials of the theatre, demolished the scenes, tore up the benches, broke the lustres, and soon effected a damage which it required several thousand pounds to repair.

The young writers who had formerly found a great part of their employment in writing new pieces for the stage, became more and more irritated at the dramatic taste which deprived them of a part of their bread, by raising up Shakspeare and the older drama, and, being mostly connected with the different papers, magazines, and reviews of the day, they took their revenge by severe and often unfair criticisms on the different performers, which made them objects of dread among the players. The natural consequence of this was, that the stage attracted more and more the attention of the literary world, until, in the March of 1761, the first, and one of the most remarkable poems of one of the most remarkable poets of that day, the "Rosciad" of Charles Churchill, stole anonymously into the world. In this poem, distinguished by remarkable vigour of design and execution, the poet introduces the actors of the day contending for the throne of Roscius, and he satirises with great critical severity the individual defects of the players, as well as those of the writers for the stage. Garrick, whose claim is allowed as the successor of Roscius, was the only one who escaped his lash. This poem, to which the author affixed his name in a second edition, met at once with the most extraordinary success, and passed quickly through a great number of editions, although it was bitterly attacked by the critics, not only in the reviews, but in an incredible number of pamphlets, under every form that the provoked anger of the disputant could imagine. These are too obscure and too dull to merit even that their titles should be enumerated. But Churchill was stung to the quick, and in another poem, under the title of the "Apology," he attacked with extreme bitterness the reviewers and the stage in general, to which he attributed the shoal of abusive pamphlets that had been showered upon him for his theatrical criticisms. He stigmatises the critics as an upstart brood of literary assassins, who from their dark concealment stabbed at unprotected genius, when it had with difficulty escaped from the coldness of the great and the persecutions of bigotry:—

"Unhappy Genius! placed by partial Fate
With a free spirit in a slavish state,
Where the reluctant Muse, oppressed by kings,
Or droops in silence, or in fetters sings.
In vain thy dauntless fortitude hath borne
The bigot's furious zeal and tyrant's scorn.
Why didst thou safe from home-bred dangers steer,
Reserved to perish more ignobly here?
Thus when, the Julian tyrant's pride to swell,
Rome with her Pompey at Pharsalia fell,
The vanquished chief escaped from Cæsar's hand,
To die by ruffians in a foreign land."

The extraordinary power which the critics, though self-elected, had now usurped, is next glanced at:—

"How could these self-elected monarchs raise
So large an empire on so small a base?
In what retreat, inglorious and unknown,
Did Genius sleep when Dulness seized the throne?
Whence, absolute now grown, and free from awe,
She to the subject world dispenses law.
Without her license not a letter stirs,
And all the captive criss-cross-row is hers."

He next attacks the reviewers for dragging people's names from intentional concealment, whilst they remain themselves carefully screened from view: they had, in fact, attacked several persons by name, as the authors of the "Rosciad," before Churchill had affixed his own to it. This seems at first to have been the great complaint of the authors against the reviewers;

for, while they did not flinch from the old wars of pamphlets, they objected to being regularly brought for judgment by a hidden and irresponsible conclave, who were not accessible to retaliation.

> "Founded on arts which shun the face of day,
> By the same arts they still maintain their sway.
> Wrapped in mysterious secrecy they rise,
> And, as they are unknown, are safe and wise.
> At whomsoever aim'd, howe'er severe,
> The envenom'd slander flies, no names appear:
> Prudence forbid that step; then all might know,
> And on more equal terms engage the foe.
> But now, what Quixote of the age would care
> To wage a war with dirt, and fight with air?"

The poet then turns with increased rage upon the actors, whom he accuses of having a troop of mercenary writers in their pay to cry up their deserts, and of wishing thus to impose upon the taste and judgment of the public:—

> "Doth it more move our anger or our mirth,
> To see these things, the lowest sons of earth,
> Presume, with self-sufficient knowledge graced,
> To rule in letters and preside in taste?
> The town's decisions they no more admit,
> Themselves alone the arbiters of wit,
> And scorn the jurisdiction of that court
> To which they owe their being and support.
> Actors, like monks of old, now sacred grown,
> Must be attack'd by no fools but their own."

The lighter amusements of the town had not lost their popularity amid what certainly must be looked upon as the regeneration of the legitimate drama; and, in spite of the severe attacks of the moralists, with which they had been assailed at their first introduction into this country, masquerades or ridottos long continued to sustain their ground. In the summer of 1730, a day masquerade in the open air was introduced as a novelty at Vauxhall, under the name of a *ridotto al fresco*, and, although it provoked new outcries against the immoral tendency of this sort of entertainment, it was for a time extremely popular, and made considerable noise. On the first day (Wednesday, the 7th of June) there were about four hundred persons in masquerade dresses, and it was announced in the newspapers that one of them had his pocket picked of fifty guineas. The taste for *ridottos al fresco* seems soon to have subsided; and indeed night was best calculated for the multitude of intrigues that were constantly carried on at these assemblies. It is impossible to enter into the history of fashionable society at this period, without perceiving the injurious effects of the passion for masquerades on the public morals. To keep outward decorum, it was necessary to announce in the advertisements and bills that guards were stationed in the rooms to prevent any offensive conduct. A few years later, the indignation of the moralist was again excited by the report that ladies were in the habit of frequenting the masquerades in men's clothing; and even greater improprieties than this appear to have been at times perpetrated. The satirical *Drury Lane Journal*, of April 9, 1752, contains the following burlesque announcement:—

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas there will be a very splendid appearance at Ranelagh Jubilee, C. Richman takes leave to inform the nobility, and *no others*, that he can furnish them with—

"New-invented masks for those who are ashamed of their own faces, or have no face at all.

"Naked dresses, in imitation of their own skin,
"And all other natural disguises."

Only three years previously to this announcement, in 1749, one of the Princess of Wales's maids of honour, Elizabeth Chudleigh, afterwards the notorious Duchess of Kingston, had carried the second of these ideas into actual practice, by appearing at a masquerade given by the Venetian ambassador at Somerset House, in the character of Iphigenia, in a close dress of flesh-coloured silk, so as to expose, unembarrassed by the covering of her looser garments, much more than strict delicacy allowed. The Princess gave her a gentle rebuke by throwing her own veil over her; but the story soon became public, and was tortured into a variety of shapes, and a number of prints appeared pretending to be portraits of the maid of honour in her "naked dress," some of which would make us believe that she had exhibited herself almost in a state of nature.* This exaggeration of immodesty seems to have thrown the masquerades into some disrepute, and a vigorous stand was made against them in the spring of 1750, on occasion of the panic caused by the earthquakes in London; the attempt to suppress them, defeated now but repeated again after the fearful earthquake which effected the destruction of Lisbon, at the end of 1755, was in the latter case so far effectual, that we hear little of masquerades for several years. Horace Walpole says, in a letter dated March 22, 1762, "We have never recovered masquerades since the earthquake at Lisbon." Yet, in the first year after the accession of George III., the example of reviving them began to be set by the court. On the 7th of June, 1763, Walpole, with the earthquake still in his recollection, describes the magnificence of the masquerade and fireworks given at Richmond House:—"A masquerade," he says, "was a new sight to the young people, who had dressed themselves charmingly, without having the fear of an earthquake before their eyes, though Prince William and Prince Henry were not suffered to be there." When the King of Denmark was in England in 1768, he gave a masquerade at Ranelagh "to all the world;" and Walpole observes sarcastically, "The bishops will call this *giving an earthquake;* but, if they would come when bishops call, the Bishop of Rome would have fetched forty by this time. Our right reverend fathers have made but a bad choice of their weapon in such a cold, damp climate." An unsuccessful attempt was made to revive public masquerades in 1771.

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* It is said that on this occasion, the King, provoked by the wayward damsel's costume, having requested permission to place his hand on her breast, she replied that she would put it to a still softer place, and immediately raised it to his royal forehead.

As Rich had found a successful rival in Garrick, so Heidegger was eventually eclipsed by a great composer, who, towards the middle of the century, introduced a new style of musical performance. George William Handel settled in London about the year 1710. He soon obtained the patronage of the Earl of Burlington; and subsequently, in connexion with Senesino and some others, set up what he called an academy of music in the Haymarket. This, however. was broken up, in consequence of his quarrels with his colleagues, and, finding little patronage in England, where the fashionable world were still mad after the Italian singers, he retired to the Continent. He returned to England in the beginning of 1742; and in the subsequent years he produced those noble oratorios, which soon gave him celebrity and riches. Handel, who was celebrated for his love of luxurious living, and his power of deglutition, was as remarkable for his corpulence as Heidegger had been for his ugliness; and in "The Scandalizade," a satirical poem published in 1750, when Handel was at the height of his celebrity, the former is introduced ridiculing the unwieldy figure of his rival.

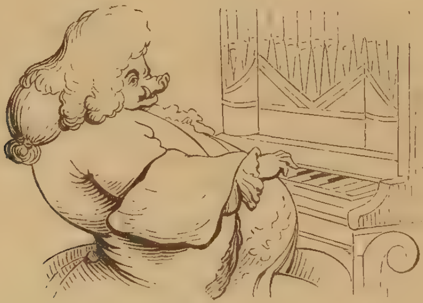
"'Ho, there! to whom none can, forsooth, hold a candle,'
Call'd the *lovely-faced* Heidegger out to George Handel,
'In arranging the poet's sweet lines to a tune,
Such as God save the King! or the fam'd Tenth of June!
How amply your corpulence fills up the chair—
Like mine host at an inn, or a London lord-mayor;
Three yards at the least round about in the waist;
In dimensions your face like the sun in the west.
But a chine of good pork, and a brace of good fowls,
A dozen-pound turbot, and two pair of soles,
With bread in proportion, devour'd at a meal,
How incredibly strange, and how monstrous to tell!
Needs must that your gains and your income be large,
To support such a vast *unsupportable* charge!
Retrench, or e'er long you may set your own dirge.'"

The composer retorts on his antagonist, and expresses indignation at the charge of over-eating, which appears not to have been exaggerated in the foregoing lines:—

"'Wouldst upbraid with ill-nature, as monstrous and vast,
My moderate eating and delicate taste,
When I paid but two hundred a year for my board?
True, my landlord soon after the bargain deplor'd;
Withdrew, became bankrupt, a prey to the law,
His effects swallow'd up in disputing a flaw
'Mong counsel, attorneys, commissioners, and such,
And all the long train so accustom'd to touch.

> But what is this matter of bankrupt to me?
> All folks must abide by the terms they agree:
> If guilty my stomach, my conscience is free.' "

In two prints, nearly alike, and evidently one copied from the other, published in 1754, Handel is represented under the title of "The charming Brute," as an overgrown hog, performing on his instrument, in the midst of a vast assemblage of his favourite provisions, hung round the apartment and against the organ.



THE CHARMING BRUTE.

The opera, during the theatrical wars, had lost none of its popularity among fashionable society, and was regularly recruited by a succession of Italian singers and dancers, who furnished subjects of ridicule to the multitude in their personal quarrels, or in their impertinent vanity. Among the "cargoes of Italian dancers" announced by Horace Walpole on the 10th of November, 1754, as having newly arrived in the London market, was the celebrated Mingotti, whose rivalry with Vanneschi subsequently disturbed the peace of the theatre in the Haymarket as much as those of Cuzzoni and Faustina had done in former days. Walpole, who noted all these important trifles in his correspondence, says, in the October of 1755, "I believe I scarce ever mentioned to you last winter the follies of the opera: the impertinences of a great singer were too old and too common a topic. I must mention them now, when they rise to any improvement in the character of national folly. The Mingotti, a noble figure, a great mistress of music, and a most incomparable actress, surpassed anything I ever saw for the extravagance of her humours. She never sang above one night in three, from a fever upon her temper; and never would act at all when Ricciarelli, the first man, was to be in dialogue with her. Her fevers grew so high, that the audience caught them, and hissed her more than once: she herself once turned and hissed again.... Well, among the treaties which a Secretary of State has negotiated this summer, he has contracted for a *succedaneum* for the Mingotti. In short, there is a woman hired to sing when the other shall be out of humour!" The contest between Mingotti and the manager, Vanneschi, which ended in the ruin of the latter, made the proud dame sovereign of the opera, and her airs were proportionally increased. A caricature published on the 8th of October, 1756, represents this creature of fashionable adoration under the title of "The Idol," raised on a stool inscribed with "£2000 per annum," and receiving the homage of her worshippers of all classes. A fashionable lady, with a pug-dog, exclaims, "'Tis only pug and you I love!" A divine, on his knees before the stool, ejaculates, "Unto thee be praise, now and for evermore!" A nobleman, bringing his subscription of £2000, says to his lady, "We shall have but twelve songs for all this money." His lady replies, "Well, and enough, too, for the paltry trifle!" Other persons are expressing their admiration in various ways. The idol, from her throne, sings with contempt—

"Ra, ru, ra, rot ye,
My name is M—— [*Mingotti*];
If you worship me notti
You shall all go to potti."

The moral of the whole is told in a distich below:—

"Behold with most indignant scorn the soft enervate tribe,
Their country selling for a song: how eager they subscribe!"

While the old drama was thus progressing side by side with the more recently established opera, another class of pieces became extremely popular in the hands of Samuel Foote, who, then a young actor, had joined Macklin, when, after his quarrel with Garrick in 1743, he betook himself to the little theatre in the Haymarket, where Foote made his first appearance on the 6th of February, 1744. We have had frequent occasions for observing how the passing events of the day were carried on the stage in comedies and pantomimes, as objects of satire. This species of farce was brought to perfection by Foote, whose great talent was that of mimicry, and who delighted his audience by the exact manner in which he imitated the peculiarities and weaknesses of individual contemporaries. He was in all respects the great theatrical caricaturist of the age. The personality of the satire was the grand characteristic of Foote's performances, and one which rendered them dangerous to society, and certainly not to be approved. An affront to the actor was at any time enough to cause the offender to be dragged before the world; and matter in itself of the most libellous description was published without danger, under the fictitious name of a character, the resemblance of which to the original was sufficiently evident to the town. From such tribunals, neither elevation in society, nor respectability of character, are a protection. After working a few years together, Foote and Macklin disagreed, and the latter left him to set up an oratory, under the title of "The British Inquisition," for Henley's success had made the name of oratory popular, and a sort of passion was at this time springing up for lecturing and speechifying. Several oratories arose about the same time, besides a variety of debating clubs, like the celebrated Robin Hood Society. Horace Walpole says, on the 24th of December, 1754, "The new madness is oratories." Foote immediately brought out "Macklin and the British Inquisition" on the stage at the Haymarket. From the Haymarket, Foote went to Drury Lane, and enlisted for a while under Garrick, with whom, however, he was never on terms of cordial friendship. His "Englishman in Paris," at the commencement of his Drury Lane connexion, was extremely popular; but another piece, "The Author," although equally well received by the mob, was eventually stopped by the Lord Chamberlain, at the complaint of an individual who was unjustly attacked in it. The Haymarket was an unlicensed theatre, and Foote evaded the law by serving his audience with tea, and calling the performance in his bills, "Mr. Foote's giving tea to his friends."* Churchill, who attacked Foote with some bitterness in his "Rosciad," and who judged rightly that his performances tended to lower the character of the stage, alludes to this circumstance, and to the similar character of Tate Wilkinson, whom he looked upon as Foote's shadow :—

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* Foote's advertisement ran, "Mr. Foote presents his compliments to his friends and the public, and desires them to drink tea at the little Theatre in the Haymarket every morning, at playhouse prices." The house was always crowded, and Foote came

> "Foote, at Old House, for even Foote will be
> In self-conceit an actor, bribes with tea;
> Which Wilkinson at second-hand receives,
> And, at the New, pours water on the leaves."

At the beginning of the reign of George III., Foote occupied the house alluded to more regularly as a summer theatre, and brought out his farce of the "Minor," which, independent of its personalities, was a violent satire upon the Methodists, and through them upon the more religious part of the community, and contained a considerable quantity of coarse language, and some rather exceptionable morality. The appearance of this piece was the signal for a violent paper war. Foote and his farces were attacked in every way, and the moral tendency of the stage was thus again brought into question under disadvantage for itself. The clergy interfered, and the "Minor" was no longer allowed to be acted. In 1766, Foote obtained a patent for the theatre in the Haymarket, upon which he purchased and pulled down the old house, and built the new one, which was ever after known as the Haymarket Theatre.

The course of the theatrical caricaturist was, however, anything but smooth. In 1762 Foote brought out "The Orators," the design of which was to ridicule the prevailing taste for speechifying, the affair of the

forward and said, that, as he had some young actors in training, he would go on with his instructions while the tea was preparing.

Cock Lane ghost, and especially the debating society held at the Robin Hood. Among other persons who were to be exposed to satire and ridicule on this occasion, was Dr. Johnson, who had taken an active part in the investigation of the Cock Lane ghost, and contributed to the exposure of the imposture: Johnson was informed of Foote's design before the farce came out, and intimated to him immediately, that he should be in the theatre with a stout cudgel, ready to fall upon the first person on the stage who attempted to mimic or throw ridicule upon him. The character of the Doctor was omitted, when "The Orators" appeared on the stage. In 1772, Foote's farce of "The Nabob," a satire on the East India politics, nearly involved him in a serious quarrel with some of the directors of the India Company. In 1775, having gathered abroad some scandalous anecdotes of the Duchess of Kingston, he wrote a farce, entitled "The Trip to Calais," in which that notorious woman was grossly caricatured under the name of "Lady Kitty Crocodile." The attack was cruel, because the Duchess was in the midst of her embarrassments relating to the trial for bigamy; and she had sufficient influence with the Lord Chamberlain, to obtain a refusal to allow it to be acted. Foote expostulated in vain with the Lord Chamberlain, and then threatened the Duchess he would print the farce, unless she gave him two thousand pounds to suppress it. The haughty dame entered into a war of letters with him, and shewed that she was no match in caustic satire; but there is a certain brutality in his way of trampling on an unfortunate woman, which makes us feel how pernicious to society a character like Foote must ever be. A Rev.

Mr. Jackson, a writer in some of the newspapers of the day, was the Duchess's agent in her transaction with Foote. The latter, finding he was likely to get nothing out of the Duchess of Kingston, altered the name of his farce to "The Capuchin," omitted all that related to the Duchess, but brought in her agent, the parson, on whom he expended his full measure of scorn and ridicule, and it was thus brought on the stage the following summer. Jackson (it was said, at the instigation of the Duchess of Kingston,) revenged himself by charging Foote with a revolting offence; and, although he was honourably acquitted, the disgrace bore so heavy upon his mind, that he never recovered it. Foote died on the 21st of October, 1777.

A good print, by Boitard, entitled "The Imports of Great Britain from France; humbly addressed to the laudable associations of Anti-Gallicans, and the generous promoters of the British arts and manufactories," and published March 7, 1757, exhibits some of what the mob considered the most objectionable articles which France sent over to corrupt the manners and principles of Englishmen. The various groups are described at the foot of the engraving. The rage for French fashions is represented by "Four tackle porters staggering under a weighty chest of *Birth-Night Clothes*," addressed to a right honourable viscount in St. James's, and doubtless comprising a magnificent costume for the ball on the King's birthday. The love of French cookery appears in "several emaciated high liv'd epicures familiarly receiving a *French cook*, acquainting him, that, without his assistance, they must have perished with hunger." The affected conceit of a French education is pictured in "a lady of distinction, offering the tuition of her son and daughter to a cringing *French abbé*, disregarding the corruption of their religion; so they do but obtain the true French accent; her frenchified well-bred spouse readily complying, the English chaplain regretting his lost labours." The passion for French *artistes* appears in "another woman of quality, in raptures, caressing a *French female dancer*, assuring her that her arrival is to the *honour and delight of England;*" the negro page is laughing at the strange taste of his mistress. The other prominent features of the picture are described as follows:—"On the front ground, a cask overset, the contents, French cheeses from Normandy, being *raffinié*, a blackguard boy stopping his nostrils, greatly offended at the *haut-goût;* a chest well crammed with tippets, muffs, ribbons, flowers for the hair, and other such *materiel bagatelles;* underneath, concealed cambricks and gloves; another chest, containing choice beauty-washes, pomatums, l'eau d'Hongrie, l'eau de luce, l'eau de carme, &c. &c. &c.; near, French wines and brandies. At a distance, landing, swarms of milliners, tailors, mantua-makers, frisers, tutoresses for boarding-schools, disguised Jesuits, quacks, valet-de-chambres, &c. &c. &c." Such was the merchandise, which, it was popularly believed, hindered English ministers from de-

FOREIGN MERCHANDIZE.

fending our national honour from the insults of our neighbours.

The outcry against the influence of French fashions and principles was indeed at its height at the time of publication of this print, and not altogether without reason. Corruption had been progressing so long, that society seemed to be rotten to the very heart, and to require some violent remedy before it could be restored to its normal state. The evil was deeply rooted in the manners of the age, and was imbibed with the first rudiments of fashionable education, of which it was considered a necessary part that young men of family should make the continental tour with a tutor before they were introduced into society at home. They were thus snatched from the indulgences of a university life, to be thrown, unrestrained, amid the vices of France and Italy, which they returned to practise in their own country. The evils of this system were generally felt, and many a moral sermon or bitter satire was written against it, but in vain. The travelling tutors, who were frequently as immoral as their pupils, and encouraged, rather than restrained them in their worst propensities, went popularly by the title of *bear-leaders*. In England, the common life of a man of fashion, presented a strange mixture of frivolousness and brutality—the day spent over the toilette, or at the boudoir of women of fashion, whose principles were no more delicate than their own, lisping scandal and gallantry, and trifling with a pantin,* or some other equally childish plaything, ended commonly in tavern debauchery and street riot, the object of emulation being—

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* A puppet of pasteboard, strung together so that by every touch of the finger it was thrown into a variety of grotesque attitudes. From 1748 to 1750, it was in high vogue among the *beau-monde* as a diverting plaything for gentlemen and ladies.

> "To run a horse, to make a match,
> To revel deep, to roar a catch;
> To knock a tottering watchman down,
> To sweat a woman of the town."

In these riots blood was frequently shed, and they sometimes ended fatally, for the sword was always ready in the fray. The exaggeration of this spirit of riot and debauchery produced private associations like the "Hell-fire Club," of the earlier part of the reign of George II., and the fraternity whose voluptuous devotions at Medmenham were so notorious at the beginning of that of George III.

The peculiar frame of society tended to diffuse the evil; for what was looked upon as the *beau-monde* then lived much more in public than now, and men and woman of fashion displayed their weaknesses to the world in public places of amusement and resort with little shame or delicacy. The women often rivalled the men in libertinism, and even emulated them sometimes in their riotous manners. It was this publicity of manners that made the fashionable world collectively and individually, as it were, the property of the town, and not only caused the latter to take a personal interest in it, but produced numerous imitators on an humbler scale among the middle and lower

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The pantin was the subject of several caricatures and ballads in 1748, the year in which it came into fashion in England: one of the former, published in September 1748, was entitled, "Pantin à la Mode; or, Polite Conversation." Another, published in August 1749, is advertised as "A new emblematic print in high taste, representing Folly playing with his pantin." I have not seen these prints, which appear to be very rare. This of course was also one of the fashionable importations from France.

classes, and thus spread the poison through every vein. This filled the literature of the day with so much personal scandal ; and hence arose the great success which attended Foote's attempt to drag it on the stage. Every man (or woman) who made himself remarkable in fashionable society was a public character, and the satire cast upon him by the writer or by the actor needed no explanation to make it understood. The scandal and disgrace which were thus heaped so plentifully on those who provoked public observation by their extravagance, although long set at defiance, must, in the end, have contributed towards changing the tone of society, by forcing vice to retire into privacy.

The general extravagance shewed itself in nothing more remarkable than in the fashions of dress, which furnished a subject of never-failing satire from the earlier part of the reign of George II. to the middle of that of his grandson. The hoop-petticoats had been a subject of scandal in the time of George I., but the circular hoops of that period were moderation itself in comparison with the extent of robe given to the ladies of the following generation. At the middle of the century, the hoop began to be made of an oval form, instead of circular, and an immense projection on each side of the body made some of the satirists of the day compare a fashionable woman to a donkey with a pair of panniers. The unsightliness of this costume was increased by the use of a loose flowing robe, called a sack.* In 1747 the great objects of scandal in the dress of the ladies were hoop-petticoats and French pockets, both of which are represented as being very indecorous. The hoop-petticoat and its inconveniences, were made the subject of innumerable caricatures, many of them in the highest degree indelicate. A print, entitled "The Review," without date, but evidently of the latter part of the reign of George II., exhibits the inconvenience of the hoop-petticoat in a variety of ways, and suggests different methods of remedying it. One of the most ingenious is, that of coaches with moveable roofs, and a frame and pullies to drop the ladies in from the top, so as to avoid the decomposing of their hoops, which necessarily attended their entrance by the door. The great outcry at this time was occasioned by the practice of leaving bare too much of the neck and shoulders, and wearing the hoop-petticoats short. A poetical description of the ladies' dress, in 1753, directs,

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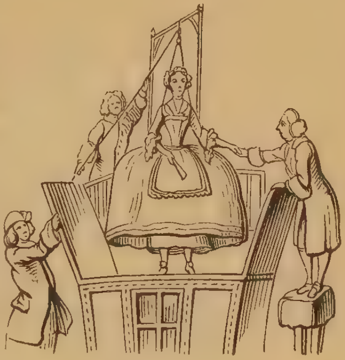
* An example of this dress will be seen above in the cut on p. 353. For a more full account of the dress of this period, the reader is referred to Mr. Fairholt's excellent work, "Costume in England," 8vo. 1846. It will only be necessary to notice on the present occasion some of its more extravagant features.


MODERN CONTRIVANCES.

"Your neck and your shoulders both naked should be,
Was it not for vandyke, blown with chevaux-de-frise,
* * * *
Make your petticoats short, that a hoop eight yards wide
May decently shew how your garters are tied."

But the attention of the satirist was shortly to be called from the garb of the body to that of the head. Hoop-petticoats disappeared early in the reign of George III., and were followed by enormous head-dresses. The poem just quoted describes the dress of the head as being at that time by no means a very prominent part of the costume.

> "Hang a small bugle cap on, as big as a crown,
> Snout it off with a flower, *vulgo dict.* a pompoon."

The first grand advance in decorating this part of the person, was made at the same time with the introduction of cabriolets, in 1755. Horace Walpole writes on the 15th of June of that year, "All we hear from France is, that a new madness reigns there, as strong as that of pantins was. This is *la fureur des cabriolets*, *Anglicè*, one-horse chairs, a mode introduced by Mr. Child:* they not only universally go in them, but wear them; that is, every thing is to be *en cabriolet;* the men paint them on their waistcoats, and have them embroidered for clocks to their stockings; and the women, who have gone all the winter without anything on their heads, are now muffled up in great caps, with round sides, in the form of, and scarce less than the wheels of chaises." The fashion was quickly communicated to England, where the cabriolet head-dress was soon improved into *post-chaises, chairs and chairmen*, and even *broad-wheeled waggons!* The following description is taken from a short poem, entitled "A Modern Morning," written in 1757; the lady, after taking her chocolate, has arisen from bed.

> "Then Cœlia to her toilet goes,
> Attended by some fav'rite beaux,
> Who fribble it around the room,
> And curl her hair, and clean the comb,
> And do a thousand monkey tricks
> That you would think disgraced the sex.

---

* Josiah Child, brother of the Earl of Tilney.

'Nelly! why, where's the creature fled?
Put my *poist-chaise* upon my head.'—
'Your *chair-and-chairmen*, ma'am, is brought.'—
'Stupid! the creature has no thought!'—
'And, ma'am, the milliner is come,
She's brought the *broad-wheel'd-waggon* home,
And 'tis the prettiest little thing,
Upon my honour!'—'Bring! bring! bring!
How can you stand and talk about it?
You know I die, I die without it!'

In *broad-wheel'd-waggon* thus array'd
By beaux, and milliner, and maid,
Dear Cœlia treads the toilet round,
In her fair faithful glass 'tis found,
And so employs her every sense
'Twould take a team to draw her thence."

A satirist of the day fortells the speedy adoption of similar head-dresses by the gentlemen, and suggests that, as emblematic of the political consistency of the day, the men of one party should wear *windmills*, and the others *weathercocks*.

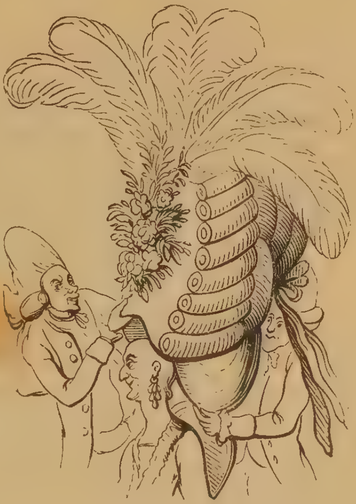
With the commencement of the reign of George III. hair-dressing became an intricate and difficult science, and was made the subject of several elaborate publications. To raise up the lofty pile of hair, and fill it out with materials to give it due elasticity, to arrange the vast curls that flanked it, and to give grace to the feathers and flowers with which it was crowned, was not within the capacity of every vulgar *coiffeur*. The interior of the mass which rose above the head was filled with wool, tow, hemp, &c., and the quantity of pomatum, and other materials used with it, must have produced an effect calculated to disgust all who were not absolutely mad upon fashion. An ode to the ladies in 1768, printed in the "New Foundling Hospital for

Wit," describes the lover's astonishment at his mistress's head-dress:—

> "When he views your tresses thin,
> Tortur'd by some French friseur;
> Horse-hair, hemp, and wool within,
> Garnish'd with a diamond skewer.
>
> "When he scents the mingled steam
> Which your plaster'd heads are rich in,
> Lard and meal, and clouted cream,
> Can he love a walking kitchen?"

When we consider that the great labour of arranging this strange structure hindered its being refreshed often, and that it was sometimes kept two or three weeks before it was broken up, being merely retouched externally, and covered with fresh odours, to conceal any disagreeable smell which might issue from the interior, we shall readily believe the accounts given by those who wrote and preached against the ridiculous enormities of fashion, and who assure us that the interior of the ladies' head-dresses was commonly filled with vermin. In the *London Magazine* for August 1768, a correspondent on this subject says, "I went the other morning to make a visit to an elderly aunt of mine, when I found her pulling off her cap, and tendering her head to the ingenious Mr. Gilchrist, who has lately obliged the public with a most excellent essay upon hair. He asked her how long it was since *her head had been opened or repaired*. She answered, *not above nine weeks*. To which he replied, that *that was as long as a head could well go in summer*, and that, therefore, it was proper to deliver it now; for he confessed that it began to be a little *hazardé*." The description of the opening of the head which follows is almost too disgusting to repeat.

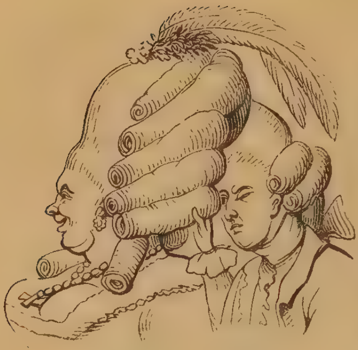
The caricaturists, as might be expected, were busy with these monstrous decorations of the head, and they did their best to improve upon the originals. A print published on the 8th of May, 1777, represents what is described as "a new-fashioned head-dress for young misses of threescore and ten," which is a picture not much exaggerated of the fashion prevalent in that year. Two men are required to place the enormous fabric *in situ.* The large nosegay, and the long waving plumes are strictly in character.



A HEAD-DRESS IN 1777.

> "But above all the rest
> A bold Amazon's crest
> Waves, nodding from shoulder to shoulder;
> At once to surprise,
> And to ravish all eyes,
> To frighten and charm the beholder."

The satirists of the day lament over the devastation committed throughout the feathered creation in order to supply this borrowed plumage; and represent the unfortunate bipeds of the wing wandering about in unnatural and unprovoked bareness, while their two-legged rivals in the ranks of humanity were rendering themselves no less ridiculous in thus appropriating their spoils.



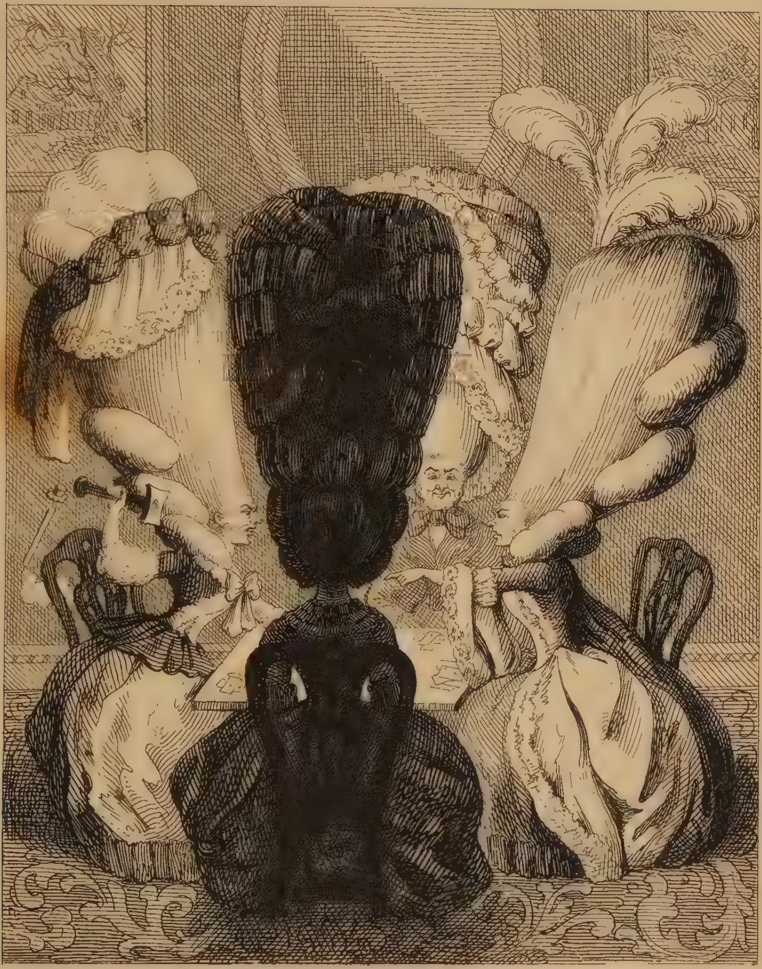
A NEW OPERA-GLASS.

The immense curls on each side of the head were peculiar also to the year just mentioned. In a spirited caricature entitled "A new opera-glass for the year 1777," it is suggested that these spacious curls should be turned to a useful purpose:—

"Behold how Jemmy treats the fair,
And makes a telescope of hair!
How will this suit high-headed lasses,
If curls are turned to optic glasses?"

The extravagant costume of this and the following years is best caricatured in a plate representing four ladies playing at cards,—a reflection, at the same time, upon the violent passion for gaming which characterized this age, and which was attended with so many tragical consequences. Two of the ladies are here quarrelling; one having accused the other of bad play, her antagonist is preparing to decide the dispute with the candlestick. This print, entitled "Settling the odd trick," was "published by M. Darley, Feb. 26, 1778."

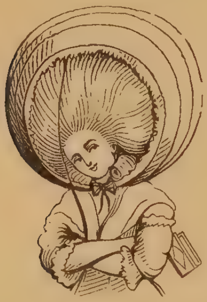
Caps now came into fashion to cover the immense heap of hair; and these were equally remarkable for their extravagance, rising high above the head, and spreading out at the sides into a pile of ribands and ornament. In these, caricature could hardly improve upon the strange unwieldy form of the originals, and it will be enough to give two or three specimens of the fashionable head-dresses as they were actually worn. The first, of the date 1780, is taken from a print entitled "The bird of Paradise," but is under-



F W Fairholt, F S A sc

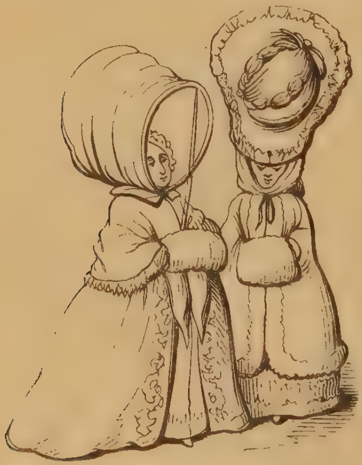
SETTLING THE ODD TRICK

> Now a shape in neat stays, now a slattern in jumps;
> Now high in French heels, now low in your pumps;
> Now monstrous in hoop, now trapish, and walking
> With your petticoats clung to your heels, like a maulkin;
> Like the clock on the tower, that shews you the weather,
> You are hardly the same for two days together."



MISS CALASH IN CONTEMPLATION.

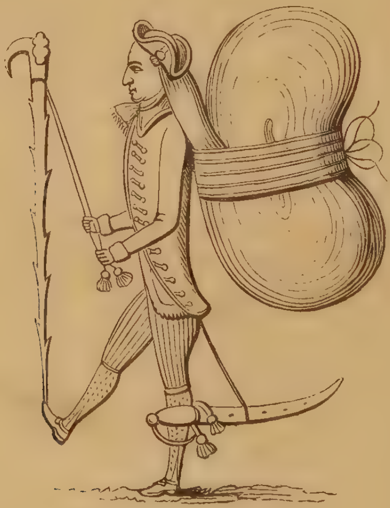
One description of cap or bonnet continued, however, for a long time in favour. It was called a calash, and is said to have been invented in 1765, by the Duchess of Bedford. The calash was formed like the hood of a carriage, and was strengthened with whalebone hoops, so that by means of a string in front, connected with the hoops, it could either be drawn forwards over the face, or it might be thrown backwards over the hair. In the above cut, taken from a print engraved in 1780, the calash is thrown back, and the string hangs loosely over the face. In the next cut, the calash is shewn as drawn forwards; and the second lady wears another of the numerous extravagant head-dresses of the day. This group is taken from a print published in 1783, and en-



LADIES OF FASHION.

titled "A Trip to Scarborough." Several other ladies, with equally grotesque head-dresses, though dissimilar, are of the party. Within a few years however after this date these extravagances had disappeared, and the heads of our fair countrywomen were reduced somewhat nearer to their natural size.

Extravagance in male fashions, among the more restricted number of individuals who indulged in it, followed close upon the heels of extravagance in the other sex. The grand phenomena of the years 1772 and 1773 were the *Macaronis*. Men of fashion in the earlier part of the reign of George II. had been commonly designated by the appellation of *beaux;* about the year 1749 they began to be termed *fribbles*, a name which continued in use during the first years of the reign of George III. Then a number of young men who had made the tour, and had returned from Italy with all the vices and follies they had picked up there, formed themselves into a club, which, from the dish which peculiarly distinguished their table, was called the *Macaroni Club*. The members of this club soon became distinguished by the title of *Macaronis;* it was their pride to carry to the utmost excess every description of dissipation, effeminacy of manners, and modish novelty of dress. The *Macaronis* first inundated the town in the year 1772, as just stated. "One will naturally inquire," says a satirical writer in the *Universal Magazine* for the April of that year, "whence originated the prolific family of the Macaronis? who is their sire? To which I answer, that they may be derived from the *Homunculus* of Sterne; or it may be said the Macaronis are indeed the offspring of a *body*, but not of an *individual*. This same body was a many-headed monster in Pall Mall, produced by the demoniac committee of depraved taste and exaggerated fancy, conceived in the courts of France and Italy, and brought forth in England." Horace Walpole, writing in the same month of April, 1772, gave a somewhat different pedigree; he ascribed the growth of this monster to the enormous wealth imported from our conquests in India, and its extravagance was already converting back wealth into poverty—"Lord Chatham begot the East India Company; the East India Company begot Lord Clive; Lord Clive begot the Macaronis; and they begot poverty; and all the race are still living." The Macaronis, in 1772, were distinguished especially by an immense knot of artificial hair behind, by a very small cocked-hat, by an enormous walking-stick, with long tassels, and by jacket, waistcoat, and breeches, of very close cut. The ac-



A MACARONI IN 1772.

companying caricature is taken from the number of the *Universal Magazine* above alluded to.

The Macaronis soon made an extraordinary noise; everything that was fashionable was *à la* Macaroni. Even the clergy had their wigs combed, their clothes cut, "their delivery refined," *à la* Macaroni. The shop-windows were filled with caricatures and other prints of this new tribe: there were portraits of "turf Macaronis," and "Parade Macaronis," and "Macaroni divines," and "Macaroni scholars," and a variety of other species of this extensive genius. Ladies, who carried their head-dress to the extreme of the mode, set up for female Macaronis. Macaronis were the most attractive objects in the ball, or at the theatre. Macaroni articles abounded everywhere. There was Macaroni music, and Macaroni songs that were set to it. The most popular of these latter was the following:—

THE MACARONI.

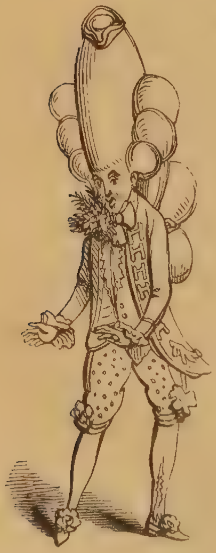
"Ye belles and beaux of London town,
Come listen to my ditty;
The Muse in prancing up and down
Has found out something pretty,
With little hat, and hair dress'd high,
And whip to ride a pony;
If you but take a right survey,
Denotes a Macaroni.

"Along the street to see them walk,
With tail of monstrous size, sir,
You 'll often hear the grave ones talk,
And wish their sons were wiser.
With consequence they strut and grin,
And fool away their money;
Advice they care for not a pin,—
Ay,—that 's a Macaroni!

"With boots, and spurs, and jockey-cap,
And breeches like a sack, O;
Like curs sometimes they 'll bite and snap,
And give their whip a smack, O.
When this you see, then think of me,
My name is Merry Crony;
I 'll swear the figure that you see
Is called a Macaroni.

"Five pounds of hair they wear behind,
The ladies to delight, O;
Their senses give unto the wind,
To make themselves a fright, O.
This fashion who does e'er pursue,
I think a simple-tony;
For he 's a fool, say what you will,
Who is a Macaroni."

The fashion of the Macaronis was too extravagant to last long. Their dress received some alterations between 1772 and 1773, the most remarkable of which were the elevation of the hair, and the adoption of immense nosegays in the bosom. Walpole writes, on the 17th of February, 1773, "A winter without politics . . . . . even our Macaronis entertain the town with nothing but new dresses, and the size of their nosegays. They have lost all their money and exhausted their credit, and can no longer game for twenty thousand pounds a-night." The accompanying cut of a Macaroni of this period, with his lofty head-dress and large nosegay, is taken from a print published


A MACARONI IN 1773.

on the 3rd of July, 1773, and is stated to be "a real character at the late masquerade." Soon after this period, men of fashion gave up the name of Macaroni, and returned to their original title of beaux.

A large print, bearing the date 1767, and entitled "The Present Age," "addressed to the professors of driving, dressing, ogling, writing, playing, gambling, racing, dancing, duelling, boxing, swearing, humming, building, &c." represents the chief subjects of complaint in the manners of the first years of the third George. In the background are three large buildings; the first of which has the sign, "The academy of the noble art of boxing. N.B. Mufflers provided for delicate constitutions." Through the window, a nobleman, with ribbon and star, is seen giving his personal encouragement to the "noble art." The next building is a theatre, with people of all ranks and professions crowding to the door: on a stage in front Folly is pointing with his bauble to the bill of performance, which is inscribed — "Britannia humm'd; or, the Tragedy of the Secret Expedition, a mock tragedy; to which is added a farce, called the Pregnant Rabbit-Woman; together with the adventures of the Bottle Conjurer and the Polish Jew; as likewise the taking the standard at the battle of Dettingen." Behind the figure of folly are seated on a bench, Elizabeth Canning and the witch, the rabbit-woman, the bottle-conjurer with the quart-bottle on his head, the Polish Jew, and an English dragoon with the captured standard, as so many witnesses of English credulity and gullibility. The third building is a great man's mansion, a sample of taste in modern architecture, "the Corinthian, Venetian, Gothic, and Chinese, huddled in one front;" while, from a garret-window, an old woman is warning a group of individuals from the door—this is described as "modern hospitality in the character of old age, left to take care of furniture, and answer duns, that the family is in the country." The foreground is filled with a number of groups, all described in the margin. In front is a carriage full of ladies in the height of the fashion, described as "British nobility disguised." They are accosted by a foppish personage, with cringing politeness, stated to be one "returned from the *polite tour*." Near them a French valet is beating an old soldier, who, crippled by the loss of an arm and a leg, is abandoned to beggary; it is "foreign insolence, expressed by the French *valet-de-chambre*, daring to insult English bravery in distress, reduced to ask alms in his native country, after having courageously lost his limbs in defence of it on board a privateer, and unjustly kept out of his prize-money." Another fop, looking unmoved on this scene through an eye-glass, is designated as "the optical ogle, or polite curiosity." Behind the coach is seen a hearse, stated to contain "the corps of a blood, who boldly lost his life in a duel defending the reputation of a prostitute." In the back-ground two individuals are weighed in a scale—"the balance of merit in this happy climate for useless exotics, a French dancing master obtains 300*l.* per annum, and a clear benefit, worth nearly 300*l.* more, while the ingenious English shipwright, though assistant to the honour, profit, and defence of his country, barely obtains 40*l.* per annum." In the far distance, the sea appears covered with ships, one of which is marked as "one British buss, of more service to the community than ten Italian singers." On the other side of the picture is the door of a gentleman's house, "the industrious tradesman thrust off with contempt, expecting a just debt to be paid, to make room for a high-life gambler, politely ushered in to receive his *debt of honour*." In front appears "a player," carried in a chair, and preceded by his footman; while still more prominently "an author" walks on foot, the picture of want and misery.

A PLAYER.

Literature was not, indeed, the most lucrative profession during the period of which we are speaking; the House of Hanover was never its patron, and the booksellers were not in general liberal paymasters. Even Dr. Johnson was reduced at one period to depend upon what he derived from contributions to the magazines and newspapers, and the memorandum found in the pocket-book of the unfortunate Chatterton, of receipts apparently scattered over several weeks, shows us how such contributions were remunerated:—

AN AUTHOR.

	£	s.	d.
"Received to May 23, of Mr. Hamilton for Middlesex [Journal]	1	11	6
„ of B.	1	2	3
„ of Fell, for the Consuliad	0	10	6

	£	s.	d.
“Received of Mr. Hamilton, for Candidus and Foreign Journal	0	2	6
,, of Mr. Fell	0	10	6
,, Middlesex Journal	0	8	6
,, Mr. Hamilton, for 16 songs (!)	0	10	6.”

Politics was the only subject that found much encouragement; and even this brought but the hope of future reward from the party who were aiming at power, or from those who had obtained it. There was truth in the statement contained in one of Chatterton's letters:—“Essays fetch no more than what the copy is sold for,” which we have just seen was not much; “as the patriots themselves are searching for a place, they have no gratuities to spare. On the other hand, unpopular essays will not be accepted, and you must pay to have them printed; but, then, you seldom lose by it. Courtiers are so sensible of their deficiency in merit, that they generally reward all who know how to daub them with an appearance of it.” The unproportionate rewards bestowed upon literature and the stage, satirised in the print described above, had become a subject of invidious remarks, and produced a pamphlet by Ralph, under the title of “The case of authors by profession,” which attracted some notice. The generally debased condition of the press, weighed down by political faction, is dwelt on in “The Author,” a poem by one of those who made most by the profession, Charles Churchill, who describes his fellow-writers as—

> “The slaves of booksellers, or (doom'd by Fate
> To baser chains) vile pensioners of state.”

Lord Bute had, indeed, after his accession to power under the young king, caused pensions and places to be bestowed, with the professed object of encouraging literature and art; but his choice had been made without judgment, and those on whom it fell only became involved in the popular odium gathered round the name of their patron. A print, dated in 1762, and accompanied with doggerel verses, represents the unpopular favourite distributing his rewards to a motley crew, described as "the hungry mob of scribblers and etchers." Bute seems to have formed the project of establishing a body of political writers in defence of the court, and of breaking down that formidable power of the press of which almost every ministry of the preceding reign had felt the effects, though all affected to treat it with neglect; but he contrived to bring to notice principally Jacobites and Scotchmen, two classes of personages especially unpopular at that time, and the patronage bestowed on them led to many desperate literary quarrels. Among Lord Bute's pensioners of the better class were, Hogarth, Johnson, Smollett, Shebbeare (who had suffered in the pillory during the preceding year for his virulent attacks upon the House of Hanover),* Arthur Murphy (the quondam editor of the *Test*), and others.

No single person, entirely unconnected with state affairs, was perhaps ever so much caricatured as the grand caricaturist, Hogarth. He had done in picture what Foote practised on the stage; and his constant practice of introducing contemporaries into his moral satires had procured him a host of enemies on the town, while his vain egotism, and the scornful tone in which he spoke of the other artists of the age, offended and irritated them. The publication of Hogarth's portrait by himself, with his well-known dog in the corner, exposed the painter to an attack in the *Scandalizade* (written in 1750), which shews that even then he was not popular in the literary world. To a doubt expressed as to the meaning of the picture,—

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* It is amusing to hear Smollett (in his History) speak of the sufferings of "this good man," "for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility." The "Letters to the People," for one of which Dr. Shebbeare was placed in the pillory by the ministers of George II., abound in language like the following, here applied to King George's foot grenadiers, who bore on the front of their caps the Hanoverian symbol of the white horse.—"Such confusion and dread dwelt on the dastard faces of all who, sold to the H——n interest, stand branded in the forehead with the *white horse*, the ignominious mark of slavery."

"Quoth a sage in the crowd . . . 'I 'd have you to know, sir,
'Tis Hogarth himself, and his friend honest Towser,—
Insep'rate companions! and, therefore, you see
Cheek by jowl they are drawn in familiar degree;
Both striking the eye with an equal eclat,
The biped *this* here, and the quadruped *that.*'—
'You mean—the great dog and the man, I suppose;
Or the man and the dog—be 't just as you chuse.'"

A dispute on this point is settled abruptly,—

"Split the diff'rence, my friend, they're both great in their way.
* * * they're alike, as it were,
A respectable pair! all spectators allow,
And that they deserve an inscription below
In capital letters, *Behold we are two!*"

The publication of his "Analysis of Beauty," at the end of 1753, became the signal for a general attack; and what was termed his line of beauty, an S-shaped curve, in which he seems to have fancied that that quality chiefly consisted, and which he had illustrated by two very droll plates, became an object of unceasing ridicule. A great number of caricatures were, in consequence, launched forth against him in the course of the year 1754. In one, entitled "A New Dunciad —done with a view of [fixing] the fluctuating ideas of taste," the painter is represented with a stupid vacant face, playing with a pantin, with a fool's cap on the ground, adorned with the line of beauty in front: a black harlequin standing behind him. In another he is represented as the mountebank painter, demonstrating to his admirers and subscribers that crookedness is the test of beauty: the hump-backed and deformed are crowding forward to attract his notice. In a third, entitled (in allusion to his having turned scribbler,) "The Author run mad," he is pictured as a maniac, chained by a foot to the floor, while, with his line of beauty in one hand, he is painting wild subjects on the wall. Another, in allusion to the title of his book, represents the unfortunate "analyst" in great consternation and distress, resting his book upon his celebrated line of beauty, while in the distance copies of it are being thrown into the caves of Dulness and Oblivion. In a larger and more finished print, Hogarth is represented in the act of undermining the sacred monument of all the best painters, sculptors, &c., in imitation of the Grecian Herostratus, who is seen in the distance setting fire to the Temple of Diana, to gratify his morbid desire of fame. A portly individual is lighting Hogarth at his envious work, perhaps intended to represent Dr. Morell, who assisted him in passing his work through the press. Other caricatures represented him in his studio, painting after coarse and ugly models, burlesqued his attempts at historical

AN UNFORTUNATE ANALYST.

painting (such as the picture of Paul before Felix), or parodied some of his famous works. Thus, in a print entitled "The Painter's March from Finchley," Hogarth is seen pursued from the village by every kind of persecutor, biped and quadruped, and assailed by a mingled din produced from the various vocal organs of woman and child, goose and donkey, cow and pig.

A PAINTER IN DISTRESS.

His dog, for Hogarth is always accompanied by his dog, is in the act of attacking one of his female assailants. Underneath we read the lines—

"Patrons of worth, encouragers of arts,
Lo! from his seat the son of folly starts
At Nature's call.—How cheap is —— come?
For see a wit holds burlesque for his ——.
O Hogarth, born our *wonder* to engage,
Thou low refracting mirror of the age!"

In 1758 Hogarth was exposed to a new onslaught of caricatures. In the previous year the question of founding an academy for the fine arts had been agitated (a plan which was carried into effect some years later by George III.), and some steps were taken towards a general encouragement of art in this country. The interest caused by this project is shewn by several prints relating to the progress of the arts, published at that time. Hogarth set his face violently against it, and again provoked the imputation of enviously keeping back artists in general, in the fear that they might in the end intrench upon his own fame. One or two new caricatures against him appeared in consequence, in which he is represented as the patron of coarseness and ugliness, surrounded with models in which those qualities are set out in the most forbidding forms. In one of these, entitled "Pugg's Graces, etched from his *original* daubing," the painter is represented executing a picture of Moses before Pharaoh's daughter, his pug's legs resting on three volumes, the lowest of which is his own "Analysis of Beauty." His fat encourager (Dr. Morell?) is directing his attention to his model Graces, three naked females, whose forms exhibit everything that is coarse and revolting. Near him lies an open book, on one page of which is the title, "Reasons against a Public Academy, 1758," and on the other the words "No Salary." Above, among the models of various kinds, flies a head in

PAINTER PUG.

the fashionable *coiffure* of the day, with the line of beauty in its mouth, described as "a modern cherubim." Another of the painter's patrons leans in admiration against his chair, holding in his hand the book in which the line of beauty is set forth. Among the different grotesque articles scattered about the room are several described as, "A. Diana's crescent; B. A multiplying glass; 76. A gammon of bacon; 14. Rays of light; 4. Beauty stays (a pair of stays, to give elegance to the female shape); 68. A jack-boot." This print is accompanied with the lines—

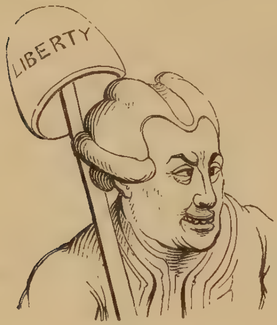
"Behold a wretch whom Nature form'd in spite;
Scorn'd by the wise, he gave the fools delight.
Yet not contented in his sphere to move,
Beyond mere instinct and his senses drove,
From false examples hoped to pilfer fame,
And scribbled nonsense in his daubing name.
Deformity herself his figures place,
She spreads an ugliness on every face,
He then admires their elegance and grace.
Dunce connoisseurs extol the author Pug,
The senseless, tasteless, impudent hum-bug."

From the introduction of the jack-boot into the print just described, we may presume that Hogarth already enjoyed, or was believed to enjoy, the patronage of Lord Bute, before the death of George II. The slight shewn to his talents by that monarch was enough to procure him favour in the household of his grandson. Soon after the accession of the latter to the throne, when the chief power had been lodged in Bute's hands, Hogarth was appointed to the office of serjeant-painter to all his Majesty's works, which his enemies jeeringly interpreted as chief "pannel-painter;" and this mode of distinguishing talent and his historical painting of Sigismunda, executed about the same period, were subsequently made the ground of no little ridicule. The picture was parodied in a vulgar print entitled, "A harlot blubbering over a bullock's heart; by William Hogart."

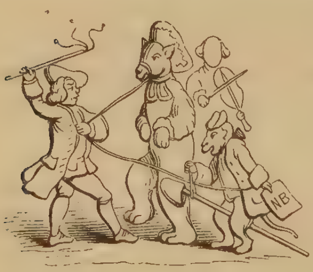
In an unlucky hour, Hogarth's zeal in the cause of his patron, or, as others said, the desire of obtaining an increase in his pension, led him into the arena of politics, from which he had hitherto kept tolerably clear, and he entered the field against his old friends, Wilkes and Churchill. In the September of 1762 appeared the political print of "The Times," which was labelled "No. I.," as though intended only to be the first of a series. It was an attack upon the ex-minister, Pitt. Europe was represented in a conflagration, and the flames were already communicating to Great Britain. Pitt was blowing the fire, which Lord Bute, with a party of soldiers and sailors, assisted by Highlanders, was endeavouring to extinguish; but he was impeded in his design by the Duke of Newcastle, who brought a barrow-full of *Monitors* and *North Britons* to feed the flames. Wilkes had received information of the intended caricature before its publication, had expostulated in vain with Hogarth, and had threatened retaliation; the Saturday after the appearance of "The Times," Wilkes fulfilled his threat in the seventeenth number of the *North Briton*, an attack upon Hogarth, written with so much bitterness, and striking not only at his professional but at his domestic character, that he appears never to have recovered it. A coarse woodcut portrait of Hogarth headed this paper, the motto of which was—

> "Its proper power to hurt each creature feels,
> Bulls aim their horns, and asses lift their heels."

In his anger, Hogarth repaired to Westminster Hall, when Wilkes was the second time brought thither from the Tower, and, in Wilkes' own words, "skulked behind in the court of Common Pleas;" he thence sketched a caricatured portrait of the pretended "patriot," in which his ill-favoured features are made ten times more demoniacal than the original. The publication of this portrait drew another combatant into the field, Wilkes' friend, the poet Churchill; who, soon after its appearance, in the summer of 1763, published that bitterest of poetic invectives, the "Epistle to William Hogarth." This piece added canker to the wound which already rankled in Hogarth's breast; he again took up the pencil, and produced a picture of Churchill under the figure of a canonical bear, with a pot of porter in one hand, and a knotty club in the other, each knot being labelled as "lie 1," "lie 2," &c. In one corner below, Hogarth's own dog is treating the "Epistle" in the most contemptuous manner. Other emblems are scattered about; and in a second edition he added on a label a group representing himself as a bear-master forcing the bear, Churchill, and the monkey, Wilkes, to dance, under the inflic-



A PATRIOT.



A BEAR-MASTER.

tion of a severe castigation. The monkey holds a *North Briton* in his hand. The picture was entitled, "The Bruiser, C. Churchill, (once the Rev.,) in the character of a Russian Hercules, regaling himself after having killed the monster Caricatura, that so severely galled his virtuous friend, the heaven-born Wilkes."

This quarrel drew upon Hogarth another flood of caricatures, which held him up now as the pensioned dauber of the unpopular Lord Bute, and the calumniator of the friends of liberty. In one, entitled "The Butyfier, a touch upon the Times," Hogarth is represented on a large platform, daubing an immense boot, (the constant emblem of the obnoxious minister,) while in his awkwardness he bespatters Pitt and Temple, who happen to be below. It is a parody on Hogarth's own satire on Pope. Beneath the scaffold is a tub full of *Auditors, Monitors,* &c., labelled "The Charm: Butifying wash." A print entitled "The Bruiser triumphant," represents Hogarth as an ass, painting the Bruiser, while Wilkes comes behind, and places horns on his head—an allusion to some scandalous intimations in the *North Briton.* Churchill, in the garb of a parson, is writing Hogarth's life. A number of other attributes and allusions fill the picture. A caricature entitled "Tit for Tat," represents Hogarth painting Wilkes, with the unfortunate picture of Sigismunda in the distance. Another "Tit for Tat," "Inv^{t} et del. by G. O'Garth, according to act or order is not material," represents the painter, partly clad in Scotch garb, with the line of beauty on his palette, glorifying a boot surmounted by a thistle. The painter is saying to himself, "Anything for money: I'll gild this Scotch sign, and make it look glorious, and I'll daub the other sign, and efface its beauty, and make it as black as a Jack Boot." On another easel is a portrait of Wilkes, "Defaced by order of my L— by O'Garth," and, in the foreground, "a smutch-pot to sully the best and most exalted characters." In another print, "Pug the snarling cur" is being severely chastised by Wilkes and Churchill. In another, he is baited by the bear and a dog; and in the background is a large panel, with the inscription, "Panel painting." In one print Hogarth is represented going for his pension of £300 a-year, and carrying as his vouchers the prints of "The Times," and Wilkes. "I can paint an angel black and the devil white, just as it suits me." "An Answer to the print of John Wilkes, Esq." represents Hogarth with his colour-pot, inscribed "Colour to blacken fair characters;" he is treading on the cap of liberty with his cloven foot, and an inscription says, "£300 per annum for distorting features." Several other prints, equally bitter against him, besides a number of caricatures against the Government, under the fictitious names of O'Garth, Hoggart, Hogg-ass, &c., must have assisted in irritating the persecuted painter.

THE BEAUTIFIER.

Hogarth died on the 26th of October, 1764, as it was generally believed, of a broken heart, caused by the persecution to which he had exposed himself. He left an engraving of the "Times, Plate II.," in which Wilkes was represented on the pillory, by the side of

"Miss Fanny," but it was not given to the world till many years after his death. He was soon followed by his adversary, Churchill, who died at Calais on the 4th of November, 1764, in consequence of a sudden attack of fever.*

Among the writers whom Lord Bute, on his appointment to the head of the ministry, employed in his Quixotic crusade against the opposition press, was Dr. Smollett, who was not only a Scotchman, but whose principles leaned strongly towards Jacobitism. Smollett had no regular pension; but he was paid to write the *Briton*, a violent weekly paper, the object of which was to abuse Pitt, and all the popular party. It was this injudicious government paper which provoked the publication, by Wilkes and Churchill, of the *North Briton*, which has attained to so much celebrity in the history of the earlier years of this reign. Churchill detested Smollett both as the Critical Reviewer and as the author of the *Briton*, and speaks of him with bitterness in several passages in his poems. After the appearance of the *North Briton*, Bute set up another rather scurrilous paper in support of his *Briton*, which was named the *Auditor*, and which was written or edited by Arthur Murphy, an author of small merit and chiefly known as a translator and adapter of plays from the French to the English stage. The first number of the *Briton* appeared on the 29th of May, 1762; the *North Briton* came out on the 5th of June; and the first number of the *Auditor* followed it on the 10th of June. A shoal of popular papers, bitterly attacking

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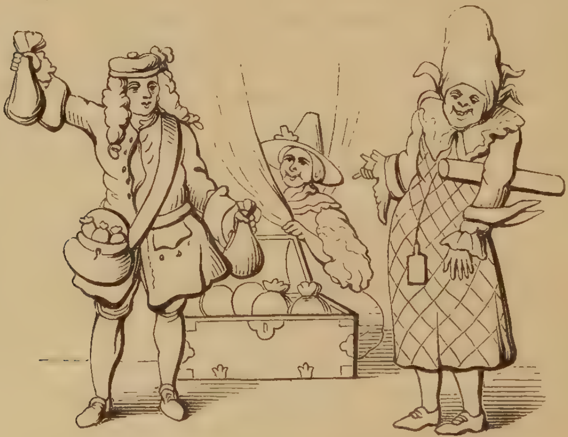
* Dr. Johnson persisted in looking upon Churchill's poetry with unmerited contempt. It is too temporary in its allusions to be generally interesting to the present age; but Mr. Tooke, in his recent edition (3 vols. Pickering, 1844), has done all that can be done to make it popular among modern readers.

Bute and his "hirelings," was roused by this new Government organ, and literature was suddenly drawn into the troubled arena of politics far more fiercely than had ever been the case before. The "pensioners," as they were termed, were held up to public scorn in every possible shape. Smollett especially, the paid Scottish advocate of Scotchmen, was an object of general attack; and in a caricature published at the end of May, immediately after the appearance of the *Briton* and the *North Briton*, under the title of "The Mountebank," in which Lord Bute, in the character of the quack-doctor, is boasting of the efficacy of his gold pills, Smollett acts the part of the mountebank to call attention to them. They are on a stage, addressing a multitude of people. The following speech is put into the mouth of Smollett, who holds under his arm a roll which is inscribed as the *Briton*, while the *North Briton* lies under his feet:—"By my saul, laddies, I tell ye truly I went round about, and I thank my geud stars I found a passage through Wales, which con-



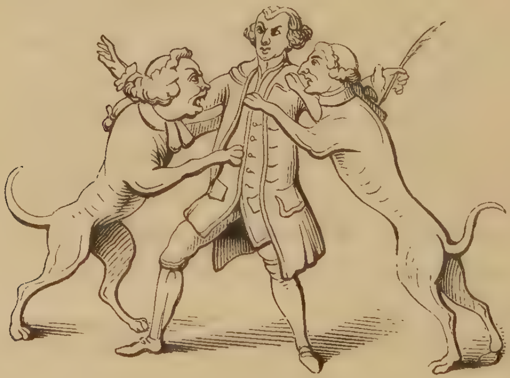
THE MOUNTEBANK.

ducted me to aw the muckle places in the land, where I soon got relief, and straightway commenced doctor for the benefit of mysel and countrymen. See here, my bra' lads, in these bags are contained the gowden lozenges, a never-failing remedy, that gives present ease, famous throughout the known world for their excellent quality. Now, as ye are a' my countrymen, and stand in most need of a cure, I will gie every mon o' ye twa or three thousand of these lozenges once a year, to make ye hauld up your heads, and turn out muckle men." The quack-doctor, Bute, adds, "Awa wi' ye to the deel, ye soothern loons; but aw ye bonny lads fra the north o' Tweed, mak haste and come to me, I am now in a capacity to gie ye aw relief, I ken fu' weel your distemper,—I donna mean that so peculiar to our country, occasion'd by the immoderate use of oatmeal. But it is the gowden itch wi' which ye are troubled (and, in truth, most folk are,) that I learnt the art to cure. I mysel was ne'er free fra' this muckle itch while I liv'd in the North, but having a geud staff to depend upon, I resolved to travel into the South to seek a cure." A female figure looks from behind the curtain, intended to represent the Princess-Dowager of Wales (who was popularly called *the witch*).

Neither the *Briton* nor the *Auditor* endured many months, for it was soon found that they answered ill the purpose for which they had been started. But their authors, and the other pensioners of Lord Bute, continued to serve against the popular cause with political pamphlets, and by other means. Dr. Johnson continued long silent, and his pension seemed only to have rendered him mute. Churchill, who hated Johnson, and ranked him among the "vile pensioners of state," makes the distinction between those who were paid to write, and those who only abstained for their pay:—

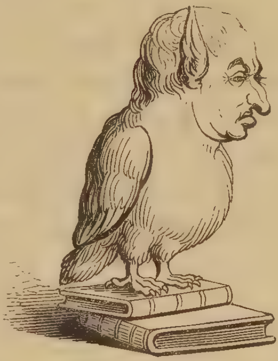
"Some, dead to shame, and of those shackles proud
Which Honour scorns, for slavery roar aloud;
Others, half-palsied only, mutes become,
And what makes Smollett write, makes Johnson dumb."

Johnson had, in fact, given an unfortunate definition of the word *pensioner* in his dictionary, compiled when he received nothing from government, which laid him open to the sneers of the popular party; but it was not till 1770 that the doctor ventured openly to enter the field of politics by an attack on Wilkes in a pamphlet entitled "The False Alarm." It is probably to that period that we must ascribe a caricature repre-



A PATRIOT WORRIED.

senting the "patriot" Wilkes, worried by two dogs one of which (that to the left) bears the features of the lexicographer, and the other, those of some other writer of the court-party, of the identity of whom we are less certain. Dr. Johnson, the general decrier of talent in others, was by no means a favourite among the writers on the popular side in the great political warfare of the last century, and he was made the subject of a variety of caricatures, most of them published at a later period than that of which we are now speaking. One of these, published on the 10th of March, 1782, on the occasion of the prejudiced character of some of his lives of the English poets, represents the doctor, in the shape of an owl, standing upon the "Lives of the Poets" and the Dictionary, and leering at Milton, Pope, &c., who are surrounded with starry rays. It is entitled, "Old Wisdom blinking at the stars."



AN OWL.

Johnson himself partook violently in those strong political prejudices which were the bane of literature at the commencement of the reign of George III., and which then were felt still more injuriously, because they even influenced the judgment of the critics in those new tribunals, the reviews, who too often punished the political creed of the writer by speaking bitterly or contemptuously of his talents as an author. It is to be wished that the effects of this political barbarism had died with the age which produced it. But it is too certain that literature, in this country, neglected by the first two monarchs of the house of Hanover, and persecuted at the commencement of the reign of the third, has never since been allowed to obtain its fair share of court or ministerial favour.

One of the most remarkable victims to the neglect of literature at this period of political strife was the unfortunate, though talented, Chatterton. Genius was, in this instance, as in so many others, drowned in the rage of party. The young poet threw himself upon the world, reckoning for success on his own talents. He gave way to the prevailing taste for virulent satire, and, amidst a profusion of hopes and promises, he found himself, like so many of his contemporaries in the profession he had chosen, reduced to hopeless poverty, and he escaped from it by a crime which was then fearfully common among all classes of society, and which had closed the career of several other votaries of the Muse—suicide.

CHAPTER VIII.

GEORGE III.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.—BREAKING UP OF THE PITT MINISTRY.—RISE OF LORD BUTE, AND INUNDATION OF SCOTCHMEN.—THE PEACE.—BUTE'S RESIGNATION.—"WILKES AND LIBERTY;" THE MOB.—THE NORTH BRITON, AND THE "ESSAY ON WOMAN."—ATTEMPT TO TAX THE AMERICANS.—THE ROCKINGHAM MINISTRY.—PITT'S RE-APPEARANCE, AND TEMPORARY RESTORATION TO POWER AS EARL OF CHATHAM.—OUTLAWRY OF WILKES; THE PILLORY.—BUTE'S SECRET INFLUENCE; HIS PUPPETS.—WILKES AT BRENTFORD, AND IN THE KING'S BENCH.—WILKES LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, AND HIS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

The political heroes of the first ten years of the reign of George III. were William Pitt, Lord Bute, and John Wilkes. It was a period at which faction raged with extraordinary violence; and which carried off from the scene nearly all the great political intriguers that remained of those who figured in the events contained in the former part of the present volume.

When George III. ascended the throne, he had entered his twenty-third year; his education had been notoriously neglected, and, from the character of his instructors, it was generally believed that they had instilled into him very exalted notions of the prerogatives of the crown, if they had not taught him to aspire to arbitrary power. Everybody knew the pains which had been taken to keep him under the influence of his mother; and the close connection between her and Lord Bute, which had been made a subject of scandal alternately by all parties, led most people to look forward with apprehensions to a reign of favouritism, apprehensions which were not calmed by the good promises under which it opened.

John Stuart, Earl of Bute, was originally a poor Scotch nobleman, by disposition proud and ambitious, but not remarkable for his talents. He first attracted the notice of Frederick Prince of Wales at a private dramatic entertainment, given by the Duchess of Queensbury, where he performed the part of Lothario in "The Fair Penitent." Frederick invited him to Leicester House, and took him into favour; and after the Prince's death, he became the still more special favourite of the Princess-Dowager, who made him her groom of the stole, and he was the chief actor in all the intrigues of Leicester House. We have no reason to doubt that, from the moment George III. ascended the throne, Lord Bute's ambition led him to grasp at the chief power, but he began cautiously, and his plans were assisted by the old and treacherous rivalry of the Duke of Newcastle and some other members of Pitt's administration. At first the only changes were made in the Bed-Chamber. Horace Walpole has handed down to us a bon-mot of a lady observer, who said at the beginning of December 1760, that the great question was whether the King would burn in his chamber *Scotch*-coal, *Newcastle* coal, or *Pitt*-coal; and he adds that "a bon-mot very often paints truly the history or manners of the times." At the beginning of January people were already complaining of the undue partiality shewn to Scotchmen. The scandal attached to Bute's intimacy with the Princess-Dowager was not allowed to die. Walpole, who has preserved so much of the political small-talk of the day, writes on the 3rd of March, 1761,—"There has been a droll print: her mistress [the princess] reproving Miss Chudleigh [one of the maids of honour, afterwards Duchess of Kingston] for her train of life; she replies, "Madame, chacun a son *But?*" Within a few days after this date, Legge was suddenly dismissed from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, and Lord Holderness was ordered to give up the Seals, which the King immediately delivered to Lord Bute. All this was done without consulting Pitt, who, however, shewed no resentment. The parliament was dissolved towards the end of March, and faction seemed to have been so entirely subdued under Pitt's administration, that the elections were attended with none of the usual excitement. But when the new parliament had been ensured, the favourite proceeded towards his object more boldly and openly.

Many circumstances connected with the resignation of Pitt at the beginning of this reign, bore a close resemblance to those of the fall of the Whigs under Queen Anne. In each case, the ministry had become popular by a long and glorious war, which their successors closed by a hasty and not very advantageous peace; and in both, the revolution was brought about by the insidious influence of favouritism. In the latter case, as well as in the former, we shall see that an attempt was made to influence the mob; but the circumstances of the times had changed, and rendered the latter part of the project less practicable. In both cases, too, the court influence in the House of Lords was strengthened by a numerous creation of new peers. France, reduced almost to despair by the successive losses of her colonies, which were but slightly balanced by what she had gained in Germany, and impoverished by her exertions in the war, began to talk of peace with England immediately after the accession of the new King, and the French ministers soon opened negotiations, and evidently thought that they might obtain it on easy terms from Bute. But Pitt haughtily and obstinately demanded greater concessions to the glory of England than they seemed willing to make. His opponents immediately set up the cry, that he advocated war merely because his own position as minister depended upon it. It was soon, however, found that France was insincere in its proceedings, and that under cover of negotiations for peace that government was secretly forming an alliance with Spain to make that power a party in the war against England in the colonies. The "Family Compact" between the two countries was signed on the 15th of August, 1761, and ratified on the 8th of September, and Pitt, aware of this circumstance, and informed of the great preparations carried on in Spain, proposed a bold and decisive line of conduct for this country. It was his advice to recall our ambassador from Madrid, unless a satisfactory explanation were given by the Spanish government, and to issue an immediate declaration of war against Spain. But Pitt's advice was overruled in council, which preferred temporizing, and when he declared that he could not remain in office and be responsible for measures which were not his own, he found that his power in the ministry was gone, and on the 6th of October he delivered up his seal of office. The King offered him, through Lord Bute, any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow, and he accepted a pension of 3000*l.* a-year, with a peerage for his wife, who was created Baroness of Chatham. Pitt was followed in his resignation by his friend and brother-in-law, Lord Temple.

Although the resignation of Mr. Pitt spread alarm among a large portion of that class which we are in the habit of calling thinking people, the popular excitement occasioned by it was much less than might have been expected. The City of London, indeed, voted public thanks to the ex-minister, instructed their members in parliament to look to him as their leader, and took every opportunity of shewing their strong sympathy; and two or three other cities followed the example. Even the popular newspapers were far from violent, although they were not wanting in warm expressions of regret and apprehension. At the coronation, which had taken place on the 22nd of September, one of the largest jewels had fallen from the crown, which was looked upon by superstitious people as a sinister omen; and now there were many who saw its fulfilment.

"When first, portentous, it was known,
Great George had jostled from his crown
The brightest diamond there;
The omen-mongers, one and all,
Foretold some mischief must befall,
Some loss beyond compare.

"Some fear this gem is Hanover,
Whilst others wish to God it were;
Each strives the nail to hit.
One guesses that, another this,
All mighty wise, yet all amiss;
For, ah! who thought of Pitt?"

Another similar effusion, which was afterwards reprinted in the "New Foundling Hospital for Wit," made the following recapitulation of the various ministers who had held rule under the House of Hanover; Walpole, the Pelhams, Newcastle or, as it was more generally considered, Fox, and Pitt:—

"CORINNA VINDICATED.

"Corinna, Virtue's child, and chaste
As vestal maid of yore,
Nor sought the nuptial rites in haste,
Nor yet those rites forswore.

"Her, many a worthless knight to wed
Pursued in various shapes;
But she, though choosing not to lead,
Would not be led by—*apes.*

"Roysters they were, and each a mere
Penelope's gallant;
They ate and drank up all her cheer,
And loved her into want.

"See her by Walpole first address'd,
(But Walpole caught a Tartar);
Him while an ill-earn'd riband graced,
She wore a nobler garter.

"A pair of brothers next advance,
Alike for business fit;
The filly gan to kick and prance,
And spurn the Pelham bit.

"But who comes next? Ah! well I ken
Him playing fast and loose.
Cease, Fox, the prey will ne'er be thine,
Corinna 's not a goose.

"See last the man by heaven design'd
To make Corinna bless'd;
To every virtuous act inclined,
All *patriot* in his breast.

"He woo'd the fair with manly sense,
And, flattery apart,
By dint of sterling eloquence
Subdued Corinna's heart.

"She gave her hand—but, lest her hand
So given should prove a curse,
The *priest* omitted, by command,
For better and for worse."

It was the court-party which now blew the spark of faction into a new blaze. No sooner had Pitt quitted his office, than he was attacked by a host of caricatures, newspapers, and pamphlets, in the interest or pay of Bute. They represented him as the "distressed statesman," disappointed and overthrown in his ambitious projects, and now obliged to retire from public observation to conceal his chagrin. They spoke of him as the general incendiary, the demon of war, who cared not how he burthened or embroiled his country, while he gratified his love of slaughter and confusion. They blazoned forth his venality, and expatiated continually on his pension and his wife's peerage. They talked of his factiousness, and of his intended measures of opposition. In one of the caricatures, entitled "Gulliver's Flight, or the Man-mountain," the "Great Commoner," as he was popularly termed, is represented flying away from St. Stephen's upon his own bubbles, amid the acclamations of the multitude below. The large bubble on which he is seated, is inscribed with the words, "Pride, Conceit, Patriotism, Popularity." The smaller ones beneath it, are "Vanity," "Adulation," "Self-importance." Those just falling from him, are inscribed, "North America," "Spanish

THE DISTRESSED STATESMAN.

War," "Honesty," as being the bubbles that preceded his resignation. And the one just issuing from the pipe is "moderation," a sneer at the moderation which he professed after his resignation. This print is accompanied with a violent attack on Pitt's political conduct, in the form of an allegory or dream.

GULLIVER'S FLIGHT.

These attacks upon the great statesman were ill-timed, and only produced a violent reaction in his favour. The opposition papers began to take a bolder tone; portraits of Pitt, and pictures that glorified him, had a ready sale; and the caricatures upon Bute and his Scotchmen became more numerous and more violent. In one of the prints alluded to, Pitt, carrying the cap of liberty, and treading on faction, is presented to Britannia by Pratt Lord Camden, and is supported by justice and victory. The ministry of Pitt, during the last years of George II., seemed, indeed, to have trodden faction under foot; and party, which had for some years been a mere distinction of inns and outs, appeared to be almost extinguished.

It was now that the name of Tories, which had always been considered as identical with Jacobites, and which had scarcely been heard of for some time, again made its appearance. In the late reign, the crown had been a moderator of parties; it now entered the field of political warfare as a party in the strife, and the early prejudices of youth identified George III., during the rest of his reign, violently and obstinately with those who, modified considerably from the old Jacobites, were henceforward denominated Tories.

The wisdom and foresight of William Pitt was as quickly demonstrated by the course of events. The English government temporized and shewed its weakness during three months; it gave Spain time to make all its preparations for war, and receive all its treasures from America, which came at this period of the year; and then, at the end of December, it was obliged, under disadvantages, to make the declaration of war which Pitt would have made under every advantage at the beginning of October. The manifesto of the King of Spain, was a personal attack upon Pitt, and did not fail to raise him in the estimation of his countrymen; the English government was obliged to tread in the very steps which he had been obliged to resign for indicating; yet the ex-minister was still abused for his warlike propensities. The state of foreign relations in 1761 is represented in a rather popular caricature of the day, entitled "The present state of Europe, a political farce of four acts, as it is now in rehearsal by all the potentates, A. D. 1761." The distant part of the print represents the island of Corsica, and the bombardment of Bastia. On the left a weeping Genoese sighs and exclaims, "I see and bewail the error too late of my country's severity to these brave islanders." Considerable sympathy was felt at this time in England for the Corsicans, who were struggling under their brave general Paoli against the French. In the same part of the picture, the Russian bear growls against a Danish dog gnawing a bone. A Swedish dog stands and snarls over Pomerania, at a Prussian attempting to throw a collar over his neck, charging him to "fly from our Prussian Pomerania, or else, you meddling cur, I'll chain you." The King of Prussia plays the Black Joke on a flute; and the Queen of Hungary, dancing to it, falls, exclaiming, "Deuce take his joke, I have crack'd my crown by it!" The Empress of Russia says, calmly, "oh, sister, keep it up for the joke's sake." The British Lion treats the Gallic Cock with contempt, and behind stands a quadruple alliance of the pope, the kings of France and Spain, and the devil. The pope urges the Spaniard, "My son, assist your most Christian brother against the heretics; it will be more meritorious than a crusade." The Spaniard replies, "I own I love them not, but dread their power." France entreats, "Dear brother, assist me now, or I am lost for ever!" Satan consoles them all, by promising them a retreat in his dominions.

In "The present state of Europe; a political farce in four acts, part four;" published at the commencement of 1762, the designs of the King of Spain appear to be still doubted. The monarchs of Europe are playing at dice. King George and the King of Prussia sit in close alliance at one end of the table; the former throwing the dice, with his drawn sword in his hand, is made to say,—"Play on, brave Prussia, proud Poland 's down. Faithful Britons will never submit to sharpers." The King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, has made a bad throw, and his crown is falling from his head. He cries,—"I am undone, d——n Bruhl—I've lost my own by playing a game for that ambitious Hungary Queen." At the other end of the table sit the Kings of France and Spain; the former urges his brother monarch to risk a bold stroke for Gibraltar, in order to ensure to himself Hanover at the end of the contest, but the wily King of Spain is made to reply, "Most Christian Brother, I will recover Gibraltar, establish my right to the fishery, but as to your conquest of Hanover, I would not venture an ounce of logwood to it." The King of Spain is, however, himself a victim, and a personage described as "The sure gamester Minheer Trickall, a Dutch politician, with his pockets full of ducats and louis-d'or" (to shew his cunning and the profit he was making out of the war), is represented picking the King of Spain's pocket of a bag of "dollars," with the reflection, "Let them play on, mine is the sure game—Minheer shall win from all without hazard." Behind him appears the Genoese, reduced to distress by his exertions for the assistance of France; and at the extreme left, the devil is peeping in, and exulting over the scene thus laid open to his view.

DUTCH POLICY.

The King's first speech to parliament had, indeed, expressed the old sentiment of attachment to the

King of Prussia, and sympathy in his cause, which was still that of England. But as soon as Pitt was got rid of, these sentiments were rapidly modified, and Bute openly declared the intention of deserting our German allies in the same manner that they had been deserted by the Tory ministry of Queen Anne. Some of the old ministry were, however, opposed to this dishonourable conduct; and at length, on the 26th of May, 1762, the Duke of Newcastle, the nominal head of the administration, indignant at the intended treatment of the King of Prussia, and not till it seems that he had received broad hints that he was no longer acceptable, resigned his office, upon which, the same day, Lord Bute was made first Lord of the Treasury. This was a change which had evidently been contemplated for some time. Lord Egremont had been appointed to the place of Secretary of State, vacated by Pitt; George Grenville was now made the other Secretary of State; and Lord Bute's creature, the dissipated and incapable Sir Francis Dashwood, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The popular attacks upon the favourite, through the instrumentality of the press, had been gradually increasing in number and violence, before he made himself Prime-minister. The complaints against the patronage of Scotchmen were especially loud. As early as the 12th of January, 1761, the newspapers advertise "A new copper-plate ballad called Boot-all;" with an additional announcement of "A new collection of Scotch collops, screens, curtains, &c., with those curious prints of the *Quere*, and *We are all a coming*." After Lord Bute had become Prime-minister, the number of caricatures increased amazingly, and the mere titles of the political prints issued during the next two or three years would almost fill a volume. A large proportion of them, however, are ill-designed, and still worse engraved, and some of them revolt us by their gross indecency.* Yet they answered their purpose in inflaming the passions of the mob. Walpole writes on the 20th of June, 1762, "The new administration begins tempestuously. My father was not more abused after twenty years than Lord Bute is after twenty days. Weekly papers swarm, and, like other swarms of insects, sting." Bute's attempt to combat the opposition of the press with its own weapons only added fuel to the fire. The *Monitor*, the warm advocate of Pitt and his measures, contained on the 22nd of May (two days before Newcastle's resignation) a bitter article on royal favourites. Bute established the *Briton*, the first number of which contained a reply to the *Monitor*, and this, as well as another government paper, the *Auditor*, continued weekly to pour forth a torrent of not very delicate abuse on all the popular party. The *Briton*, as it has been already stated, produced the *North Briton*, edited by Wilkes and Churchill, which attacked the court party with quite as much scurrility as distinguished the government organs, and which eventually contributed not a little towards overthrowing the Bute administration.

Bute seemed intoxicated with his power, and, paying little attention to the popular complaints, he set no bounds to his injudicious patronage of his countrymen, heaping preferment on his brother, James

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* A newspaper paragraph of Oct. 15, 1762, reprinted in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that month, very justly says, "Many of the representations that have lately appeared in the shops, are not only reproachful to government, but offensive to common sense; they discover a tendency to inflame without a spark of fire to light their own combustibles."

Mackensie, to whom he gave, in 1763, the highest offices in Scotland. Bute's patronage of his brother and countrymen is satirized in a caricature entitled "The flying machine from Edinburgh in one day, performed by Moggy Mackensie at the Thistle and Crown." A northern witch is conducting the Scottish adventurers to the land of promotion, on a monstrous broomstick:—

A JOURNEY FROM THE NORTH.

> "On broomstick, by old Moggy's aid,
> Full royally they rode,
> And on the wings of northern winds,
> Came flying all abroad."

Other caricatures represent the high roads from the north, crowded with ragged Scots who were deserting their bleak and barren mountains for the milder climes of the south; while in others ship-loads sought the land of promise by sea. Even the post from the north-country was suspected of bringing its share of the noxious importation; and one of the caricatures of a somewhat later period represents a Scotchman dispatched to London under cover of a franked envelope.

A SCOTCH MISSIVE.

The favourite himself, who was commonly spoken of as the "Thane," was attacked under every shape that inveterate hatred could suggest. He was the "jack-boot" (a poor pun on his name) from which all our mischiefs flowed, the thistle, the "political bag-piper." The "boot" was the favourite object in caricatures. One of these, entitled "The Whipping Post," represent poor Britannia stripped naked and bound to the whipping-post, while a Scotchman is scourging her mercilessly with thistles. The caricatures and satires on Bute's private relations with the young King and his mother, the Princess of Wales, were libellous in the highest degree, and not unfrequently obscene. He was compared with Mortimer, the favourite of Queen Isabel, and a celebrated mock dedication to him by Wilkes, of a new edition of the tragedy of Mortimer, expresses the wish that he might share that wicked favourite's fate. Others parodied a scene in Hamlet, and represented our "thane" instilling poison into the royal ear, in order that he might rule in his stead. In one caricature, entitled "The royal dupe," the Princess of Wales is seated on a sofa, lulling the young king to sleep in her lap, while Lord Bute is stealing his sceptre, and Fox is represented picking the king's pocket. Two pictures on the wall of the apartment represent the garden-scene in Hamlet and the Fall of Mortimer.

Pitt's old rival, Henry Fox, was the minister who enjoyed chiefly the confidence of the favourite, and who promoted his measures with the greatest zeal, and, as might be expected, who shared largely in his unpopularity. His name became as closely identified with the Bute administration as it had formerly been with that of the Duke of Newcastle. This statesman seems to have been equally remarkable for the looseness of his private morals, and the dishonesty of his public conduct; and, during the long period he held the lucrative office of paymaster of the forces, he became extravagantly rich out of the plunder of the public money. In 1769, the petition of the city of London for the redress of public grievances adverted especially to his defalcations, and stigmatized him as "the public defaulter of unaccounted millions," an expression which was long attached to his memory. In one of the caricatures which appeared before Newcastle's resignation, entitled "The State Nursery," where the Bute ministry are occupied in children's games, Fox, as the whipper-in of the ministerial majority in the Commons, is mounted on the back of Bute—

THE FOX ELEVATED.

"First you see old sly Volpone-y
Riding on the shoulders brawny
Of the muckle favourite Sawney."

The Duke of Newcastle is employed in rocking the cradle. From this time Fox and Bute are constantly joined together, and even after they had been driven from ostensible power, they were popularly believed to share in secret influence. In another caricature, entitled "The ever-memorable Peace-Makers settling their accounts," Fox and Bute are joined in a trio with the King. The book in which Fox is writing bears the inscription "Unaccounted Millions;" and the rolls before the King are entitled "West Indies," "North America," "Manillas," &c. In the original print, the devil, with an axe in one hand (the reward of treason), holds the inkstand, from which Fox replenishes his pen.

THE PEACE-MAKERS.

The great aim of the court intrigues appears, indeed, to have been to gain popularity for the favourite by making him the author of peace;* and as soon as he had been raised to the nominal head of the ministry, he began to make indirect advances for the renewal of the negotiations. The condition in which Pitt had left the national forces, and the energy which he had impressed on all their operations, continued to produce their effect, and the war with Spain was, on our part, a series of brilliant successes, which made us master of the Havanna and Manillas, and most of the Spanish and French West Indian islands; so that the two powers were glad to listen to offers of peace on almost any terms. Bute had begun his administration, at least not very honourably, by deserting the King of Prussia and our German allies, and they were now left out of the treaty, to make terms for themselves. No doubt England might have exacted much more advantageous terms; for she gave up a large portion of her conquests; but she retained all Canada, with Cape Breton, (which had been so often a bone of contention,) and other possessions, which rendered the British empire in Northern America compact and safe.

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* On the renewal of negotiations for peace, Bute's first step was to write a letter to the lord mayor of London, to inform him of his intentions, with the evident intention of conciliating the city.

Whatever might have been the general wish for a peace, the popular feeling in England was not in favour of a peace to be made by Lord Bute, and it was easy to raise an outcry against the extent of the concessions made to our enemies. As soon as the negotiations were formally opened, in the month of September, 1762, caricatures, and ballads, and pamphlets, flew about in rapid succession. In one of the former, entitled "The Congress; or, a device to lower the Land Tax, to the tune of Doodle, doodle, do," advertised on the 13th of September, 1762, the favourite is represented treating with the Frenchman, and giving up Gaudaloupe, Martinico, &c., while he retains merely "barren Canada," and "part of Newfoundland." A Scotchman carries the standard of the boot and petticoat. Bute is made to say, "Tak aw again, Mounseir, and gie us back what ye please;" to which the Frenchman replies, "Der is Canada and N. F. Land; now tank de grand monarch for his royale bountee." The British lion is held down by a chain, with the *Auditor* and *Briton* weighing heavy upon his neck; and on the other side of the picture is a tombstone, with the inscription, "English glory. Obiit 1762." The following song is attached to this caricature:—

"Here you may see the happy congress,
All now is done with such a *bon-grace*,
No English wight can surely grumble,
Or cry, our treaty-makers fumble.
Doodle, doodle, do, &c.

"Who would not for a peace like this,
Replete with every kind of bliss,
Give all our conquests, all our gain-a,
And glory in the Highland Thane-a?
Doodle, &c.

"Our manners now we all will change-a,
Talk Erse and get the Scottish mange-a,
On oatmeal haggise we will feed-a,
And Smithfield beasts no more shall bleed-a.
Doodle, &c.

"A tartan plaid each chield shall wear-a;
With bonnets blue we'll deck our hair-a;
And make an act that no one may put
A felt or beaver on his *caput*.
Doodle, &c.

"Then strut with Caledonian pride;
Shakspeare and Milton fling aside;
On bagpipes play, and learn to sing all
Th' achievements of the mighty Fingal.*
Doodle, &c.

"In gratitude all this we owe-a,
For saving us from beaten foe-a;
And 'tis the least we surely can do,
For to regain lost Newfoundland-o.
Doodle," &c.

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* Macpherson's "Ossian" had been published in this year, 1762, and was now exciting general attention.

Another caricature, published in the course of September, was entitled "The Caledonian Pacification; or, All's well that ends well." Bute is here seated by a muzzled lion, on an elevation; he holds the sceptre, and proclaims, "Be this our r—l [*royal*] will and pleasure known." The Kings of France and Spain are making their own terms. Pitt and his friends are going to the assistance of Britannia, who sits weeping in a corner. It was at this time that Hogarth published his caricature, or, rather emblematical print, of "The Times," defending Bute's peace, and stigmatizing Pitt, Temple, and Newcastle, as public incendiaries. This print, as we have already seen, only served to increase and imbitter the attacks on the government. Immediately after its publication, appeared a large print, entitled "The Raree Show, a political contrast to the print of the Times by William Hogarth," in which the Scots are seen on one side dancing and rejoicing at the fire which is consuming John Bull's house. The centre of the picture is occupied by a great acting-barn, from the upper window of which Fox shews his cunning head, and points to the sign representing Dido and Æneas going into the cave, and announcing that the play of these two worthies is acted within. This is, of course, an allusion to the presumed intimacy between Bute and the princess-dowager, who are exhibited as the hero and heroine on a scaffolding in front, Smollett on one side, blowing a trumpet, entitled "The *Briton*," and Murphy on the other, beating a drum, entitled "The *Auditor*." There are many other groups allusive equally to the political events of the day. In one corner sits the mercenary Dutchman, receiving the wages of his interested neutrality from "mounsieur."

NEUTRALITY.

It appears that even the members of the cabinet were not unanimous in approval of the peace; at least some of them were unwilling to compromise themselves by signing it. This led to some changes in the ministry, the most important of which was the resignation of the Duke of Devonshire at the beginning of November; upon which the king in council ordered the duke's name to be struck out of the council book, an act of ignominious treatment totally unmerited, and said to have been intended to intimidate others from following his example. This resignation was followed by those of the Marquis of Rockingham and the duke's relatives, Lord George Cavendish, and Lord Besborough. The Duke of Cumberland, who had received some slights, also joined the opposition, which tended to increase its popularity. At the end of November, when the parliament met, Lord Bute could not pass the streets without being hissed and pelted by the mob, and a strong guard was necessary to secure his person from still greater violence.

Parliament met on the 25th of November, and the preliminaries of the treaty were laid before both houses. Pitt, who was suffering from his gout, came to the House of Commons, wrapped up in flannels, to attack the peace, and the debate there was very animated, but the ministers found themselves secure of a large majority. In the lords, Bute gloried in his own work, and declared that he wished for no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb than that he was the adviser of this peace. The phrase was snatched at by the opposition, and gave rise to an epigram, which was soon in everybody's mouth:—

"Say, when will England be from faction freed?
When will domestic quarrels cease?
Ne'er till that wish'd-for epitaph we read,
'Here lies the man that made the peace.'"

The moment Bute felt assured of his majorities in parliament, he shewed his resentment against his opponents by tyrannically ejecting from their offices, even to the lowest, every person who had received an appointment from the Duke of Newcastle and other leaders of the opposition when in office.

Between one hesitation and another, the peace was not concluded until the month of February, 1763; and perhaps no peace was ever received by the body of the people with greater dissatisfaction. The popular hatred of the French increased with the cessation of hostilities; and there was a new cry against the importation of French fashions, which, it was pretended, were the only return we should receive for so many sacrifices. Churchill expressed the popular feeling—

"France, in return for peace and power restored,
For all those countries, which the hero's sword
Unprofitably purchased, idly thrown
Into her lap, and made once more her own;
France hath afforded large and rich supplies
Of vanities full-trimm'd; of polish'd lies,

> Of soothing flatteries, which through the ears
> Steal to and melt the heart; of slavish fears
> Which break the spirit, and of abject fraud—
> For which, alas! we need not send abroad."

The minister tried to console himself for the unpopularity of his peace by getting up addresses * of congratulation, but they found few who would address, and they met everywhere with discomfiture. An address was very reluctantly wrung from the city of London, and was carried to St. James's on the 12th of May, by Sir Charles Asgill (as *locum tenens* in the absence of the lord-mayor), accompanied by six other aldermen, the recorder, sheriffs, chamberlain, and town-clerk. The procession was accompanied by a great mob, which hissed and hooted during the whole route; as it passed along Fleet Street the great bell of St. Bride's began to toll, and a dumb peal struck up; and it received a similar salutation from Bow-bells on its return. When the mob approached the palace, they became still more uproarious, and the whole transaction tended only to throw disgrace on its promoters, and make them an object of the popular ridicule and contempt. Churchill, in the fourth book of "The Ghost," published shortly after this event, speaks of processions which move on slowly—

> "—— To the melancholy knell
> Of the dull, deep, and doleful bell,
> Such as of late the good Saint Bride
> Muffled, to mortify the pride
> Of those who, England quite forgot,
> Paid their vile homage to the Scot,
> Where Asgill held the foremost place,
> Whilst my lord figured at a race."

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* There were several caricatures on these patched-up addresses, the best of which is entitled, "A sequel to the knights of Baythe, or the One-headed Corporation."

Caricature prints of the procession for the proclamation of the peace were circulated under the title of "The Proclamation of Proclamations," in which the proclaimer was represented with a large *boot* on one leg, and riding upon a donkey (the latter being the mob emblem of the young king). Beneath were the doggerel lines:—

> "See here, fellow subjects (so fine and so pretty)
> A show that not long since was seen in the city,
> With marshals, and heralds, and horse grenadiers,
> And music before 'em to tickle our ears;
> To tell us proud Sawney has patched up a peace,
> That our foes may take breath and our taxes increase.
> Oh! who could have thought we should e'er see the day
> When a Scotchman should over the English bear sway,
> Thus bully and swagger and threaten and dare,
> Till the credulous lion falls into the snare.
> But though coward-like from his post he has fled,
> Let 's hope yet his lordship wont die in his bed."

Lord Bute had, indeed, after a short but stormy reign, deserted his post. The arrears and various liabilities incurred by the war, had produced the necessity of new taxation, the odium of which fell entirely upon the Scotch minister. Early in 1761, a tax was laid upon beer, which, raising the price of that article, had exasperated the mob, on whom such a tax fell with disproportionate heaviness. The tax was made immediately the subject of ballads and caricatures against the king and his favourite; and the popular discontent was shewn in several instances in a way which could not fail to reach the royal ears. The *Royal Magazine*, under the date of February 15, informs us that "some evenings ago, while their majesties were at Drury Lane Theatre, to see the Winter's Tale, as Garrick was repeating the two following lines of the occasional prologue to that celebrated piece:—

> ' For you, my hearts of oak, for your regale,
> Here 's good old English stingo, mild and stale,'

an honest fellow cried out of the shilling gallery, 'At threepence a pot, Master Garrick, or confusion to the brewers!' which," it is added, "was so well received by the whole house, as to produce a plaudit of universal approbation." Several other taxes were proposed or talked of; but in the spring of 1763, Bute suddenly proposed an excise on cider, and a law was passed, rather hastily and ill-digested, in spite of the most violent opposition and the most threatening demonstrations in some parts of the country. People compared the rash disregard of popular opinion with which this measure was pushed through, with the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, who had bowed to the public demonstrations against his far wiser system of excise; and when the resignation of Lord Bute was suddenly announced on the 8th of April, 1763, many ascribed his retreat to the terror raised by the popular indignation on this occasion. Others (and this seems to have been the general opinion) said that he had been driven out by the Duke of Cumberland, who, with the Duke of Newcastle, led the opposition in the House of Lords. A caricature, entitled "The Roasted Exciseman; or, the Jack Boot's exit," represents the enraged mob burning the effigy of a Scotchman suspended on a gallows; a great worn boot lies in the bonfire, into which a man is throwing an "excised cider barrel" as fuel. A Scotchman, in great distress, cries out, "It 's aw over with us now, and aw our aspiring hopes are gone." In one corner is Liberty drooping over her insignia and a number of the *North Briton*, and comforted by a portly personage, apparently intended for the Duke of Cumberland: she says, "your R. H—gh—ness was always my firm friend, and I well know feels for my distress." Another caricature published on this occasion is entitled "The Boot and the Blockhead. Oh! Garth fec^{t}. 1762." A wooden head raised upon a boot, and adorned with Hogarth's line of beauty, is erected as the idol to be worshipped. Hogarth with his print of "The Times" as a shield, is defending it against the attacks of Churchill, armed with the *North Briton*. It is attended by a crowd of worshippers, who are chiefly Scotchmen. Through an entrance doorway to the right a bright sun is seen rising, and the Duke of Cumberland enters with a whip in his hand, followed by a sailor. The duke turns back to his companion, and says, "Lend 's a hand,

THE FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

THE IDOL.

Ned, to scourge the worshippers of a blockhead! I'll warn 'em presently, as I did in '45." The sailor cries, "I'll lend you a hand, my prince of bold actions!" Others said that the minister had been killed politically by the *North Briton.* The truth, however, probably is, that Lord Bute was suddenly terrified at the degree of popular hatred to which he had exposed himself, and thought that he should escape it by giving up his place. We can hardly help feeling convinced that in the first years of the reign of George III. a desperate attempt was made to raise the royal prerogative to a very undue position in regard to the constitution, and that no means were left untried to secure success; the experiment was a dangerous one, and it failed; Bute is said to have confessed that he was terror-struck at the perils with which he was surrounded, and that he was afraid of involving the king in his own fate.

THE IDOL'S SCOURGE.

The fallen minister, however, soon recovered his courage, and the only difference was that he ruled from behind the curtain, instead of reigning in public. Fox, who seems to have shared in the panic, retired at the same time, and was raised to the peerage, under the title of Lord Holland. Sir Francis Dashwood, Bute's incompetent chancellor of the exchequer, also resigned, and was created Lord Despenser. The other changes were trifling; George Grenville was made first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and the machine of state was still guided, secretly, by the hand of Bute.

The court seems to have been provoked in the highest degree by the opposition which its measures had received from the press; and it now began a violent persecution, the only effect of which was to give an unusual importance to the mob, of which for many years after no efforts could deprive it. On the 19th of April, three days after the change in the ministry, the king closed the session of parliament with a speech in which he dwelt upon the advantages of the peace. On the 23rd of April appeared the celebrated "No. XLV." of the *North Briton*, which consisted of a very severe criticism of the king's speech, taken, as it is always considered, as the speech of the minister, and of a violent attack (but less so than many previous ones) on the public conduct of the Earl of Bute. There is nothing treasonable or unusually libelous in this paper, or which had not been said over and over again in the House of Commons; its only fault is a want of moderation in language. But the *North Briton* had contributed very largely in raising the popular hatred which had forced Lord Bute to resign; and the court, blinded by resentment, rushed headlong and inconsiderately on the prospect of vengeance. A *general warrant*, to seize all persons concerned in the publication of the *North Briton*, without specifying their names, was immediately issued by the secretary of state, and a number of printers and publishers were placed in custody, some of whom were not concerned in it. Late on the night of the 29th of April, the messengers entered the house of John Wilkes (the author of the article in question), and produced their warrant, with which he refused to comply. The next morning, however, he was carried before the secretary of state, and committed a close prisoner to the Tower, his papers being previously seized and sealed, and all access to his person strictly prohibited. The warrant was considered as an illegal one, and had only been resorted to in one or two instances, and under very extraordinary circumstances, of which there were none in the present case. Wilkes's friends immediately obtained a writ of habeas corpus, which the ministers defeated by a mean subterfuge; and it was found necessary to obtain a second before they could bring the prisoner before the court of King's Bench, by which he was set at liberty on the ground of his privilege as a member of parliament. He then opened an angry correspondence with the secretaries of state on the seizure of his papers, which led to no result. But in the meantime, the attorney-general had been directed to institute a prosecution against him in the King's Bench for libel; and the king had ordered him to be deprived of his commission as colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia. The king further exhibited his resentment by depriving Lord Temple of the lord-lieutenancy of the same county, and striking his name out of the council book, for an expression of personal sympathy which had fallen from him.

George Grenville's administration had hardly lasted three months, when it was weakened by the death of one of the secretaries of state, Lord Egremont; upon which, without any communication with the ministers, and to the surprise of everybody, Lord Bute, by the king's command, repaired to Mr. Pitt to negotiate his return to office, and the formation under him of a new cabinet. Pitt consulted his friends, and waited twice upon the king, but the latter insisting on certain arrangements to which the statesman would not agree, the negotiation failed; and Grenville remained minister. The Duke of Bedford, whose name was very unpopular in connexion with the peace, was now brought into the ministry, and the Earl of Sandwich was made secretary of state.

When the parliament met on the 15th of November, 1763, its attention was at once called to the affair of Wilkes, whose cause was taken up warmly by the opposition. The court, however, was still master of large majorities in the house, and it was resolved that the article in the *North Briton* was a "false, scandalous, and seditious libel," and that it should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. It was further proposed to expel Wilkes from the house, and they talked of condemning him to the pillory. Wilkes replied by a complaint of the manner in which the privileges of the house had been violated in his person, and raised a question, the consideration of which was postponed for a week. The court party, however, was not satisfied with the fair open course of proceeding which lay before them, but they had a new attack in store, intended to throw a moral odium on their victim, and got up in a manner which threw disgrace on every one concerned in it. Although he has probably been condemned more severely than he deserved, Wilkes's moral character, like that of many of his eminent contemporaries, was very low. But he appears to have learnt his immorality in the society of Lord Sandwich, Sir Francis Dashwood (Lord le Despencer), Thomas Potter, M.P. for Aylesbury, and son of Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other men of fashion and dissipation, who formed with him a club, which, in its private meetings, held at Medmenham, in Buckinghamshire, (the seat of Lord le Despencer,) set all religion and decency at defiance. Potter and Wilkes together composed an obscene parody on Pope's Essay on Man, which they entitled "An Essay on Woman;" and which, in imitation of Pope's poem, was accompanied with notes under the name of Bishop Warburton. Wilkes had read this production to Lord Sandwich and Lord le Despencer, who *highly approved* of it, but he had communicated it to no other person. He had printed twelve copies of it at a private press in his own house, which were to be distributed among the members of the club, and he had taken the greatest precaution to hinder its being carried abroad by his workmen. One of them, however, had purloined some fragments of it, and shewn them to a needy parson named Kidgell, who gained his living by writing for the press, and who was employed by the government to obtain a copy of the work alluded to by bribing one of Wilkes's compositors, in which, with some difficulty, he succeeded. On the very day when Wilkes's alleged libel was brought before the House of Commons, the stolen copy of the "Essay on Woman" was laid before the lords, and, of all other persons, the notoriously profligate Earl of Sandwich, who had privately approved of this very production, was selected to bring it forward, and comment upon its profane indecency. This was as bad a burlesque as the book itself; and it only led to the publication of a load of scandalous stories of the impiety and immorality of the hypocritical accuser; for Lord Sandwich is said to have been expelled from the Beefstake Club for blasphemy; and Horace Walpole tells us, on this occasion, that "very lately, at a club with Mr. Wilkes, held at the top of the play-house in Drury Lane, Lord Sandwich talked so profanely that he drove two harlequins out of the company." To make matters worse, Kidgell, the ministerial tool in this unworthy affair, published a quarto pamphlet, giving an indecent account of Wilkes's poem, which was spread abroad rather copiously, and brought Kidgell and his employers into equal contempt.

In parliament the ministerial majorities were supreme, and both houses joined in the severest censures on the *North Briton* and on the poem. But it was different out of doors, where the court-persecution of Wilkes had made him a perfect idol with the mob. When, on the 3rd of December, the Sheriff of London, Alderman Harley, with the city officers and hangman, proceeded to carry into effect the sentence of the House of Commons against the *North Briton*, by burning it in a fire in Cheapside, the mob attacked them with the greatest violence, forced the sheriffs to make a hasty retreat to the Mansion House, drove away the officers from the fire, and, snatching from the hangman the half-burnt "libel," carried it in triumph to Temple Bar, where they made a bonfire and burnt a large jackboot, for all these unpopular acts were laid to the account of the favourite. Among the numerous epigrams passed about on this occasion, one of them shews strongly the popular sentiment in this respect:—

> "Because the *North Briton* inflamed the whole nation,
> To flames they commit it, to shew detestation;
> But throughout old England how joy would have spread,
> Had the real North Briton been burnt in its stead!"

In consequence of this riot, the government nearly quarrelled with the city; and to increase the mortification of the former, Wilkes and the printers arrested by the general warrant, who had all commenced prosecutions for illegal imprisonment, obtained rather heavy damages from the under secretary of state who had put the warrant in execution; and a violent opposition to the system of general warrants was raised in parliament, which ultimately affected their abolition. The opposition to the proceedings against Wilkes was headed in the House of Lords by the Duke of Cumberland.

Wilkes himself did not again face his opponents in the House of Commons. In a duel, which arose out of the debate on the first day, he had received a severe wound, which afforded an excuse for not attending; and, when the parliament met after the Christmas holidays on the 19th of January, 1764, he had made his retreat to Paris, from whence he sent medical certificates that he could not come back. The House of Commons thereupon passed a vote of censure on the *North Briton*, and then proceeded to expel Wilkes from the house. Kidgell about the same time became involved in some discreditable money transactions, and was obliged also to leave the country, and this double elopement gave rise to the following epigram:—

> "When faction was loud, and when party ran high,
> Religion and Liberty join'd in the cry;
> But, *O grief of griefs!* in the midst of the fray,
> Religion and Liberty both ran away."

It is difficult to conceive the excitement produced by this affair, which continued during the spring. The debates in parliament were angry and obstinate; Pitt came frequently to his place in the house, wrapped in flannels, to head his party in defending the constitutional liberty of the subject which had been infringed by the proceedings of the government; and three remarkable men, (besides others,) who acted a prominent part in subsequent events, were pettishly turned out of their places, and two of them deprived of their commissions in the army, for joining in the opposition, Lord Shelburne, Colonel Barré, and General Conway. The court carried this sort of intimidation to such an excess, that a writer in the *Royal Magazine* in February, 1766, informed us that "a curious gentleman" had made a calculation that down to that time since Legge had been discharged in May 1761, there had been no less than five hundred and twenty-three changes of places by ministerial influence.

Few of the popular party effusions produced by the prosecutions against Wilkes appear to be preserved; and the caricatures connected with it are not of great interest. In one, published in 1764, under the title of "The Execution," Lord Sandwich, who was known by the *sobriquet* of Jemmy Twitcher, is represented dragging Justice to execution. He is treading on the British lion, which lies muzzled and chained; and a figure on one side cries to him, "Twitch her, Jemmy, twitch her!"

THE EXECUTIONER.

George Grenville, the prime minister, had also (like most of his colleagues) his *sobriquet*. In the debate on the cider bill, the last measure of Bute's administration, Grenville contended that the government did not know where else to lay a tax, and turning to Pitt, who was warm in the opposition, exclaimed, "Let him tell me where—only tell me where!" Pitt replied only by humming in his place the words of a popular tune, "Gentle Shepherd, tell me where!" The house was thrown into a roar of laughter, and ever after the minister carried with him the title of the Gentle Shepherd. It was this gentle shepherd who now, when the affair of Wilkes was for the present ended, by a new scheme of taxation laid the foundation of the American war and the loss of those important colonies which now form the United States. The magnitude of the question seems not at first to have been fully appreciated in this country, and the opposition, though brisk, was not very strong, to a measure which was, nevertheless, felt to be neither constitutional nor politic, the taxing a people who were not represented in parliament, except as far as, as was suggested by one member, North America, was considered, by a sort of constitutional fiction, as forming parcel of the manor of Greenwich in Kent. Even Pitt was not present at these debates. The custom duties on goods imported into America now levied, and the threat of a stamp-tax, excited a violent ferment in America, and met with a resolute opposition there; yet in the next sessions, (January 1765,) the king's speech urged the parliament to persist in taxing the Americans, and in enforcing obedience.

In the meantime the English government became involved in new changes. In the summer of 1764 Pitt, who appears to have been more and more ambitious of being thought above the partizanship of faction, emancipated himself from the league he had formed with the Duke of Newcastle, and declared his intention of acting entirely upon his own judgment in opposing or supporting the measures of ministers. The apparent disorganization of the opposition alone saved Grenville's ministry during the remainder of the year. In February, 1765, the American stamp act was carried through parliament, in spite of the representations of Benjamin Franklin and a deputation sent from America to expostulate; but still Pitt, suffering under the gout, kept away. Immediately after it had passed, in the latter part of March, the young king experienced the first attack of that derangement under which he laboured in the latter years of his life, and, on his recovery, ministers brought in a hasty and ill-digested plan of a regency bill, by which they grievously affronted the Princess of Wales, and gave little satisfaction to the king. From this moment their doom was certain, and it was said that Bute fixed the king's determination. In the middle of May, the king sent for his uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, and dispatched him to Mr. Pitt, at his seat at Hayes in Kent, to beg him to form a new ministry, but he refused. The duke then, by the king's desire, tried to form a ministry among the opposition, but nobody would engage without Pitt. The monarch was then driven to the alternative of asking his old ministers to remain; which they now refused to do, unless the king would promise never again to consult Lord Bute, to dismiss Bute's brother, Mackensie, from his office in Scotland, and Fox (Lord Holland) from his place of paymaster of the forces, (which he still retained,) and appoint Lord Granby captain-general. The king gave a flat refusal to the first and last of these demands, and his ministers were satisfied by the sacrifice of Lord Holland and Mr. Mackensie, and the promise that Bute should not be permitted to interfere. The king, however, was still determined to get rid of his ministers, and towards the end of June he made a new communication to Pitt, who now took some steps to form an administration, which were rendered abortive by the objections of Lord Temple. Upon this the Duke of Cumberland again addressed himself to the more moderate part of the opposition, and succeeded in forming an administration under the Marquis of Rockingham, who brought into parliament his private secretary, the celebrated Edmund Burke, and raised to the peerage, as Lord Camden, the popular chief-justice Pratt.

During the ministerial changes the country was in a troubled state, which was increased by several causes of popular excitement. The disputes with the American colonies was a hindrance to commerce, and was felt heavily by the merchants, and thus their cause found advocates in England. The English mob was increasing in power and insolence, and the Grenville ministry persisted in provoking it by unpopular exhibitions. Wilkes had escaped the pillory by retiring to France, and the other persons concerned in the original publication of the *North Briton* had beaten their persecutors, with the exception of Kearsley the bookseller, who had been ruined, but who was re-established in trade in the beginning of 1765, by the exertion of some of Wilkes's partizans. Another bookseller, named Williams, republished about this time the set of the *North Britons* in two small volumes. He was immediately prosecuted by the court, and sentenced to stand in the pillory in Palace Yard for one hour, which was put into execution on the 1st of March, 1765. Williams was conducted to the place of punishment amid the shouts and acclamations of a vast concourse of people, in a hackney-coach, numbered 45.* When he mounted the pillory, as well as when quitting it, he bowed to the spectators, and during the whole time he held a sprig of laurel in his hand. While he stood there, the mob erected a gallows of ladders opposite to him, on which they hung a jack-boot, an axe, and a Scotch bonnet; which articles, after a while, were taken down, the top of the boot cut off with the axe, and then both boot and bonnet thrown into a large bonfire. In the meantime a gentleman drew out a purple purse, adorned with orange-ribbons, and made a collection of two hundred guineas for the sufferer, who was conducted from the scene of his punishment in the same triumphal manner in which he had been brought there. One of the spectators took out a pencil and wrote on the scaffold the extemporary lines:—

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* The number of the *North Briton* was the more popular from its fortuitous coincidence with that of the year of the great Scottish rebellion. Long after the events themselves had ceased to

"Martyrs of old for truth thus bravely stood,
Laid down their lives, and shed their dearest blood;
No scandal then to suffer in her cause,
And nobly stem the rigour of the laws:
Pulpit and desk may equally go down,
A pillory 's now more sacred than a ——." [*crown.*]

The popular excitement caused by this new act of ministerial (and, as it was interpreted, Scotch) persecution, raised a great clamour. Ballads were sung about the streets on Williams and on the pillory;

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be a matter of general interest, patriotic tradesmen continued to give popularity to their merchandize by distinguishing it with the favoured number 45. It is said that even within a few years the favourite article in a snuff-shop in Fleet-street, was extracted from a canister marked 45, and the mixture known by no other name. Mr. Tooke, from whose notes to Churchill this fact is taken, adds, that, on the other hand, so obnoxious were these numerals to royalty itself, as well as its retainers, that the young Prince of Wales, in 1772, thought he could not exhibit his resentment for some privation or chastisement he had undergone more provokingly towards his royal father than by roaring out repeatedly the popular cry, "Wilkes and No. XLV. for ever!"

and several prints appeared, representing the various circumstances of the exhibition in New Palace Yard, with a fair sprinkling of caricature. On one of them the pillory is entitled the "Scotch Yoke;" and the print is accompanied with a ballad, which, as this was one of the affairs that threw the pillory into disuse as a punishment for political offences, is perhaps worth repeating: it is entitled—

"THE PILLORY TRIUMPHANT; OR, No. 45 FOR EVER.

"Ye sons of Wilkes and Liberty,
Who hate despotic sway,
The glorious forty-five now crowns
This memorable day.
And to new Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"An injur'd martyr to her cause
Undaunted meets his doom:
Ah! who like me don't wish to see
Some great ones in his room?
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"Behold the laurel, fresh and green,
Attract all loyal eyes;
The haughty thistle droops its head,
Is blasted, stinks, and dies.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"High mounted on the gibbet view
The *Boot* and *Bonnet's* fate;
But where's the *Petticoat*, my lads?
The *Boot* should have its mate.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"What acclamations burst around!
Victoria is the cry;
Hear, hear, oh Jeffreys! and turn pale,
Thy malice we defy.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"Look up and blush with guilt and shame,
Ye vile *informing* crew,
While Williams thus with *honour* stands,
The gallows groans for you.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"When wicked ministers of state
To fleece the land combined,
As guardian of our liberties,
The *Press* was first designed.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"But now the *scum* is uppermost,
The truth must not be spoke;
The laws are topsy-turvy turn'd,
And justice is a yoke.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

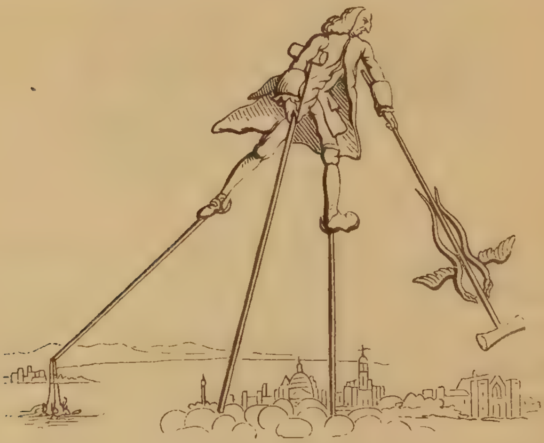
"In vain the galling *Scottish* yoke
Shall strive to make us bend;
Our monarch is a Briton born,
And will our rights defend.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go.

"For ages still might England stand,
In spite of Stuart arts,
Would heaven send us men to rule
With better heads and hearts.
Then to New Palace Yard let us go, let us go."

At the same time there was much rioting in different parts of the country, against the exportation of flour, and for other supposed grievances. A little later, in May, when the ministerial embarrassments commenced, the London weavers arose in great numbers, and attacked the house of the Duke of Bedford, whom they accused of having negotiated the obnoxious peace which had brought French silks and poverty into the land, and they were not dispersed without bloodshed. The rest of the year passed over quietly; and a few caricatures without much point, shew that there was the latent will to stir up mischief, without the resolution to act. The party who had been thrown out of power began to exert themselves to destroy the reviving popularity of Pitt, and some attacks were made upon him in print, accompanied by several caricatures. One of these, under the title of "The Courier," makes a joke of the Duke of Cumberland's unsuccessful visit to the gouty foot at Hayes: the sign is that of a blown bladder, inscribed "Popularity," with the further inscription "By W. P." underneath.

THE COURIER.

When the parliament re-opened in January, 1766, the gout was gone, and Pitt again made his appearance in the house, and delivered one of his grand philippics. He condemned all the measures of the late ministry, and stigmatized in the strongest terms the attempt to tax the Americans, in which the king in his opening speech had just recommended the house to persevere. He expressed his personal regard for the members of the new administration, but declared his want of confidence in it as a ministry; and then burst into an eloquent attack upon the secret influence, which he intimated had paralyzed his own efforts in the service of the country, and had been the cause of all the mischief that had happened since. Ministers denied the secret influence; but the nation believed implicitly in it, and Pitt became again the idol of the mob on this side of the Atlantic, and of the dissatisfied and angry colonists on the other. The attacks on the popular orator by the court-party now increased in violence. In the month of February appeared a poem, entitled "The Demagogue," stated to be written "by Theophilus Thorn," in which Pitt is attacked as a mere pretender to patriotism, and he is accused of stirring up mischief in America with the mere object of gaining the shouts of the mob. A caricature, published about the same period, under the title of "The Colossus," represents the statesman raised on lofty stilts, his gouty leg resting on the Royal Exchange, in the midst of London and Westminster, which are surrounded by a cloud of bubbles, inscribed "War," "Peace," &c.; this stilt is called "Popularity." The other stilt, called "Sedition," he stretches over the sea towards New York (the town seen in the distance),



THE COLOSSUS.

fishing for popularity in the Atlantic. The long staff on which he rests, is entitled "Pension." Above the orator's head hangs the broad hat of the commonwealth, and raised in the air on one side, Lord Temple is occupied in blowing the bubbles which support the "great commoner's" fame. Below are the lines:—

"Tell to me, if you are vitty,
Whose wooden leg is in de city,
Eh bien drole, 'tis de great pity.
Doodle do.

"De broad-brim hat he thrust his nob in,
De while St. Stephen's throng are throbbing,
One crutch in America is bobbing.
Doodle do.

"But who be yonder odd man there, sir!
Building de castle in de air, sir?
Oh! 'tis de Temple, one may swear, sir!
Doodle do.

"Stamp act, le diable! dat 's de job, sir,
Dat stampt it in de stiltman's nob, sir,
To be America's nabob, sir.
Doodle do.

"De English dream vid leetle vit, sir;
For de French dey make de Pit, sir,
'Tis a pit for them who now are bit, sir.
Doodle, noodle, do."

The acts of the Rockingham administration were in general popular; but it was feeble in itself, and was soon further weakened by defections. Early in July, 1766, Pitt again received a message from the king, desiring him to form a new administration, and on this occasion the king left him to make his own terms. The orator now found his greatest difficulty in getting together his own party. He quarrelled with Lord Temple, who seems to have thwarted him rather largely in his plans; and at length he was obliged to compose a motley ministry, formed of men taken from several parties, and the chief tie of which consisted in his own name, the popularity of which was suddenly diminished by his reception into the House of Lords, under the title of Lord Chatham. Lord Chatham's ministry, however, brought together a number of young statesmen who figured more prominently in subsequent times. He himself took the office of lord privy seal; Lord Camden was made chancellor; Lord Shelburne one of the secretaries of state, and General Conway the other; the Duke of Grafton was made first lord of the treasury; Lord North was associated with Mr. George Cooke in the office of paymaster-general; Mr. Willes was made solicitor-general; and the Duke of Portland was lord-chamberlain. It was in every respect a liberal government, and it is difficult to account for the extraordinary odium which was attached to Pitt's elevation to the peerage. Few attempted to defend the "great commoner's" ambition to sit in the House of Lords. An almost solitary epigram, amidst a heap of abuse, made a half apology:—

"The Tories,* 'od rat 'em,
Abuse my Lord Chatham,
For what—for commencing a peer?
But is it not hard
He should lose his reward,
Who has purchas'd a title so dear."

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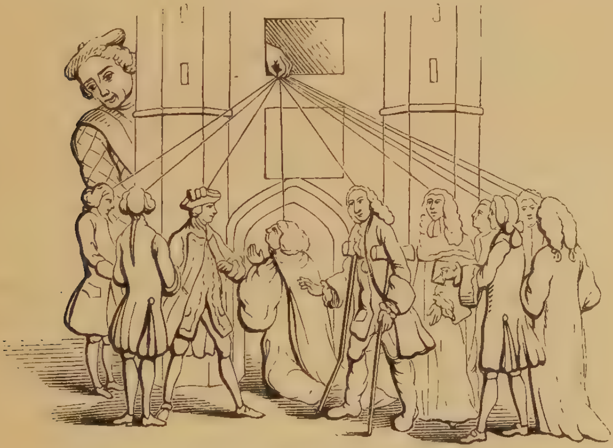
* The name of Tories, (it has already been observed) which had been always an unpopular one, and had generally been combined more or less with Jacobitism, was almost lost in the latter years of George II. Bute brought it up again by introducing into place professed Tories, and within a few years the title, with a modified meaning, became the general appellation of the supporters of court influence.

> "In every station
> Mr. Pitt serv'd the nation,
> With a noble disdain of her pelf:
> Then where's the great crime,
> When he sees a fit time,
> If a man should for once serve himself."

But the populace looked upon the peerage as a bribe, for which Pitt had sold himself to the Scottish favourite, and they refused to look upon him as anything more than a tool of the court. In spite of everything that could be said to the contrary, it was still confidently believed that Bute ruled there, and that none could be ministers, except by placing themselves at his disposal; and the mob would propably never have been persuaded to the contrary, except by the public hanging or beheading of the object of their hatred. A caricature given with the *Political Register* for October 1767 (the publication of Wilkes's friend Almon) represents, under the title of "The wire-master and his puppets,"



THE WIRE-MASTER AND HIS PUPPETS.

the members of the present ministry as so many puppets moved by wires directed by the Scotch favourite from the palace of St. James's. The gouty Lord Chatham stands prominent in front, with one of his crutches broken. On one side Lord Holland (who was believed to have had a hand in Lord Bute's secret influence) peeps in, and gives his signal—"A little more to the left, my lord." On the other side Britannia sits weeping, and exclaims, "It is sport to you, but death to me." Below, those who are out of place, among whom the Duke of Newcastle is conspicuous, are looking on at the performance, while the devil is pulling away the prop of the stage on which the puppets are moving, to make greater diversion for the spectators. Four lines from Swift explain the scene:—

"The puppets, blindly led away,
Are made to act for ends unknown;
By the mere spring of wires they play,
And speak in language not their own."

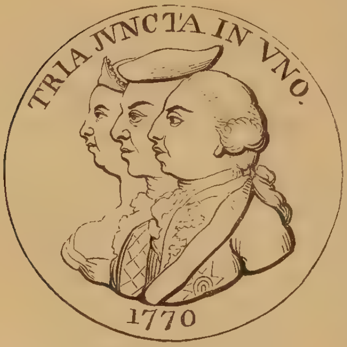
It is a matter of considerable doubt at what time the Earl of Bute's influence at court really ended; but it is certain that it was popularly believed in long after it had ceased to exist. It can hardly be supposed that Lord Chatham would have submitted, as represented by his enemies, to be the mere tool of what was described at that very time as—

—— "that haughty, timid, treacherous thing,
Who fears a shadow, yet who rules a king."

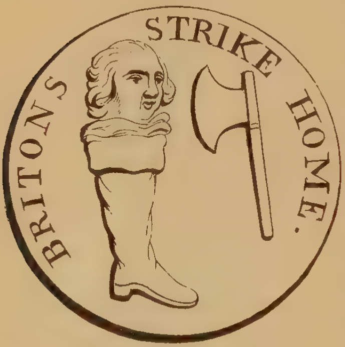
When the Duke of Cumberland died rather suddenly, in September 1765, he was sincerely regretted by the popular party, who believed that he was the most powerful opponent to the influence of the Scottish "thane," and prints and caricatures immediately subsequent to that event, represented the latter as dancing over the prince's tomb, rejoicing in the recovery of power. In one of these an inscription on the tombstone describes the deceased duke as the defeater of Scottish treason and supporter of the Protestant throne, and adds, in allusion to the formation of the then existing Rockingham ministry, that he had "elected a ministry out of those virtuous few, who gloriously withstood general warrants, America-stamps, stamps of excise, &c." In 1767, there began to be great talk among the medical profession of the virtues of the *carduus benedictus*, or blessed thistle, as a universal remedy; and the plant worshipped by the quacks was soon adopted as an emblem of that thistle to which it was pretended that all Englishmen were to be forced to bow the head. Bute was said to have been aiming at the recovery of power on the resignation of Lord Chatham in 1768. A caricature subsequent to this period, at a time when Lord North and Mansfield were in place, represents the thistle glorified, and the two nobles just mentioned looking on and admiring; behind them, Satan attends as musician, playing on the bagpipe. A print, dated in 1770, and suggested as a design for a new crown-piece, gives the converse

THE CARDUUS BENEDICTUS.

and reverse of the coin. On the latter, Britannia is represented in bonds, while Bute tramples on her shield, and the sun is shining brightly upon a thistle: the inscription around it is, "Le soleil d'Ecosse aux Angloises feroce." The other side represents the head of Bute between those of the king and the Princess of Wales, with the inscription, "Tria juncta in uno." Still later, when Wilkes was elected Lord Mayor of London, in 1774, a medal was struck in his honour,* bearing on the obverse a bust of the popular idol in his mayoralty robes, and on the other side the figure of Bute's head surmounting a jack-boot, with the axe by its side, and the inscription, "Britons, strike home;" a device and motto which had been frequently used in the earlier period of the excitement raised by the proceedings against Wilkes.



THE REIGNING TRIO.


BRITONS STRIKE HOME.

THE BOOT.

Lord Chatham's ministry went on slowly and inefficiently till 1768, without enjoying the confidence of the country, although composed of men, most of whom were regarded as patriotic in their principles. Lord Chatham, confined with the gout, took no share in public business; and the Duke of Grafton, who was at the head of the treasury, and whose administration it was commonly called after 1767, gave most of his attention to Newmarket and to his mistresses. Other offices were filled with as little efficiency. Nevertheless, after Lord Chatham's resignation, the Duke of Grafton remained at his post as prime minister, until the change in 1770 placed Lord North at the head of affairs.

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* This medal is in the collection of Mr. Haggard.

It was during the least active period of Chatham's administration, that John Wilkes again made his appearance. Having suffered the indictment against him in the Court of King's Bench to run to an outlawry, he had been residing at Paris ever since, and had made several vain attempts to get the sentence reversed. He arrived in London early in February, but did not shew himself publicly until the dissolution of parliament in March, when he suddenly presented himself as a candidate for the city of London. He was received by the mob with boisterous enthusiasm, and people paraded the streets with poles on which were suspended a boot and a yellow petticoat, but he was unsuccessful in the poll; upon which he immediately offered himself for Middlesex, the election for which took place at Brentford, on Monday the 28th of March, 1768. Before daybreak on that day, Piccadilly and all the roads leading to Brentford were occupied by mobs, who would suffer no one to pass without blue cockades and papers inscribed "No. 45, Wilkes and Liberty," and who tore to pieces the coaches of the two other candidates. They are said to have been provoked to this violence by the appearance of the latter at Hyde Park Corner, accompanied with a procession carrying flags, on which were inscribed "No blasphemy!" and "No sedition!" A newspaper of the day says, that "There has not been so great a defection of inhabitants from London and Westminster, to ten miles distant in one day, since the life-guardsman's prophecy of the earthquake, which was to destroy both these cities in 1750." At Brentford, Wilkes had sufficient influence over the mob to keep it quiet, but, it being announced at the close of the poll that he was far a-head of his opponents, they behaved with some violence on the way back, stopping people's carriages and chalking them all over with "No. 45," and forcing everybody to shout for Wilkes. At night they compelled people to illuminate, and broke the windows of those who refused; and violent attacks were made on the Mansion House (the lord-mayor having displayed hostility towards the popular candidate), and the house of Lord Bute in Audley Street, the rioters being only at length dispersed by the arrival of the guards. Next day Wilkes was returned member for Middlesex; and at night the mob rose again, the illumination was still more general, and further outrages were committed. The turbulence of the mob was not confined to London; in many parts of the country the elections were unusually riotous, and a number of persons were killed. It was said that some of the leaders of the opposition in parliament encouraged the popular demonstration; there were many wise enough to see that there was little to fear in it. The Duke of Newcastle is said to have declared that he loved a mob, that he had once been the leader of a mob himself, and that he thought a mob inseparable from the true interests of the Hanoverian succession. Yet the court was suddenly seized with great apprehensions; and imprudent threats were held out against Wilkes and the populace. It was this unwise persecution alone that made Wilkes a hero.

After he had secured his election, Wilkes declared his intention of surrendering himself to the court which had outlawed him; for this purpose, he presented himself in the court of King's Bench on the 20th of April; but, in consequence of some legal informalities, he was then allowed to depart, and a writ having been issued, he was brought before the court on the 27th, and then committed to the custody of the marshal of the King's Bench prison. He left the court in a hackney coach, but the mob, which was again numerous and riotous, took off the horses at Westminster Bridge, and, after forcing the marshal in whose custody he was, out of the coach as they passed Temple Bar, drew their favourite through the city to a public-house in Spitalfields. But as soon as the mob had partially dispersed, Wilkes escaped at midnight by a back door, and repaired to the King's Bench prison, where he surrendered himself into the marshal's custody. When it was known next day that he was in prison, a mob collected outside the walls, and shouted all day for Wilkes and Liberty. A body of horse-guards, sent to the spot, and stationed near the prison, only served to irritate the populace; the latter, who assembled daily at the same place, committed, as we are told, no further riot than shouting "Wilkes and Liberty," yet the guards were always brought out in an ostentatious manner to watch them, and each party abused and threatened the other, until the 10th of May, when the new parliament was to meet, and when the mob believed that Wilkes was to be taken out of prison to attend in his place in the house. They accordingly attended in greater numbers than usual. A large force of soldiers had been stationed in front of the prison, and, by an unfortunate coincidence, they were a Scottish regiment, and they appear to have shewn somewhat too openly their hatred of the English mob. The latter became exceedingly riotous, and dirt and stones were thrown. Two of the Surrey magistrates read the riot act, but it is said not to have been heard; the soldiers fired, as it appears, with great haste and rashness, and many of the mob were killed and wounded. Three of the soldiers quitted their ranks, to follow one of the rioters whom they had singled out, and at some distance from the scene of riot entered a cowhouse, where they deliberately shot a young man named Allen who had taken no part whatever in the proceedings of the day. The mob now became infuriated, and they added to the general excitement by parading the body of Allen through the streets. Prosecutions for murder were lodged against the soldiers and an officer implicated in the death of Allen, and against the Surrey magistrates, who had ordered soldiers to fire at the mob, and verdicts were given against the former; but they were screened by the court, which, in a very unadvised manner, publicly approved and praised the conduct of all the soldiers, whereas the three who had killed Allen were at least guilty of a breach of military discipline in quitting their ranks. This only added to the popular irritation: the riot was long remembered as the "massacre of St. George's Fields;" and the mob increased in strength, and became more violent.

Several other mobs arose in London at the same time, who, as Horace Walpole observes, "only took advantage of so favourable a season. The coal-heavers began, and it is well," Walpole observes, "it is not a hard frost, for they have stopped all coals coming to town. The sawyers rose too, and at last the sailors, who had committed great outrages in merchant ships, and prevented them from sailing. The last mob, however, took an extraordinary turn; for many thousand sailors came to petition the parliament yesterday (May 11), but in the most respectful and peaceable manner; desired only to have their grievances examined; if reasonable, redressed; if not reasonable, they would be satisfied. Being told that their flags and colours with which they paraded were illegal, they cast them away. Nor was this all; they declared for the king and parliament, and beat and drove away Wilkes's mob." These riotous proceedings dwindled into a sort of civil war between the sailors and the coal-heavers, which, strange to say, was allowed to continue for several weeks, although many lives were lost. On the 22nd of June, Walpole writes, "The coal-heavers, who, by the way, are all Irish white-boys, after their battles with the sailors, turned themselves to general war, robbed in companies, and murdered wherever they came. This struck such a panic, that in Wapping nobody dared to venture abroad, and the city began to find no joke in such liberty." It required again the active intervention of the guards to quell this disturbance.

In the meanwhile the court of King's Bench had reversed Wilkes' outlawry on account of some informalities in the proceeding; and judgment was given on the original sentence, by which he was condemned to pay a fine of 500*l.*, and be imprisoned ten calendar months for writing the *North Briton*, No. 45, and to pay another fine of 500*l.*, and be imprisoned twelve calendar months in addition to the former term of imprisonment for publishing the "Essay on Woman," which in reality had been published by the ministers. Whatever excuse may be made for the first part of the sentence, none can be found for the extreme injustice of punishing a man for the publication of what he had carefully concealed from public view, and a copy of which had only been procured by the basest treachery. The natural consequence was, that Wilkes, in his imprisonment, became a more formidable opponent than when at liberty, and that he only sank into insignificance when he ceased to be an object of persecution. Soon after the Middlesex election, Cooke, the other member, died, and on the issuing of a new writ, Wilkes, from his prison, recommended his friend and supporter, Serjeant Glynn, who beat the court candidate, Sir William Proctor, by a large majority. The latter had recourse to Wilkes's own weapons, and hired a mob, which acted with so little moderation, that one of the popular party, named Clarke, was killed. Two of Proctor's chairmen were immediately brought before a jury at the Old Baily, charged with murder, and one of them, turning out to be a Scotchman, was condemned, but received a pardon, to the great disappointment of the London mob. On the meeting of parliament in November, the affair of Wilkes was again debated fiercely during several weeks, and on the 3rd of February, 1769, he was again expelled the House of Commons. It was on this occasion that Edmund Burke, who spoke with great force against the expulsion, described the proceedings of the government, as "the fifth act of the tragi-comedy acted by his majesty's servants, for the benefit of Mr. Wilkes, at the expense of the constitution."

A new writ was issued for Middlesex, and Wilkes again offered himself as a candidate. The election took place at Brentford on the 10th of March, when a Mr. Dingley undertook to be the ministerial champion, but he could not approach the hustings or find any one who would venture to propose him, and Wilkes was re-elected without opposition. The ministerial majority in the House of Commons flew into a rage, and, after another violent debate, declared the prisoner incapable of re-election, and issued a new writ next day, and Colonel Luttrell, then member for Bossiney, was engaged to stand for Middlesex. Wilkes, however, was again elected by a large majority, and London was as usual illuminated. But on this occasion the house voted that the sheriff had made a wrong return, and that Luttrell's name should be inserted instead of that of Wilkes as the member for Middlesex. Thus ended the war between "the two kings of Brentford," as people jokingly termed King George and John Wilkes.

The mortifications of the court were not, however, confined to the "war" at Brentford; the ministers had again tried the unwise experiment of getting up a popular demonstration in their own favour. The first attempt was made in the county of Essex, "which," Horace Walpole observes, "being the great county for calves, produced nothing but ridicule." Dingley, the unsupported candidate for Middlesex, was the hero of this attempted demonstration, which miscarried through his own imprudence. Another attempt was made, and some signatures were obtained to a loyal address, which was to be presented to the king on the 22nd of March, by a procession of six hundred merchants and others. They set out amid hisses and outcries of every description, but they made their way in tolerable order as far as Temple Bar. There the mob had assembled in great force, and, having closed the gates against them, received them with a shower of mud and stones, which obliged them to disperse and save themselves in any streets and lanes that were not blocked up. This was popularly termed "The battle of Temple Bar." About a third of the loyal addressers reassembled at some distance in advance of the scene of their discomfiture, and formed again in procession; but they were soon overtaken by the mob, which had obtained a hearse drawn by four horses, on one side of which hung a large escutcheon, with a coarse representation of the "massacre of St. George's Fields," while a similar escutcheon on the other side, represented the slaughter of Clarke at Brentford. This was marched slowly at the head of the procession, and thus, in the midst of a dreadful uproar, they reached St. James's, where the mob became more riotous than ever. The king and his ministers were obliged to wait a considerable length of time before the address could be presented; the mob had tried to seize the important document, and they had so pelted the chairman of the committee of merchants with mud that he was unfit to appear with it. Lord Talbot came down and seized one of the rioters, but the mob pressed round him and broke the steward's staff in his hand. Other unpopular noblemen received ill-treatment. At length, after fifteen persons had been captured by the guards, the mob dispersed, and the address was presented. In the popular prints representing these disturbances, which were sold in great numbers, the tumult before St. James's is entitled "the sequel to the battle of Temple Bar."

It was about this period of agitation that some of the most violent of the political caricatures were ushered into the world, with a host of publications of different kinds, calculated to inflame people's minds. Political magazines were now established, such as the *Oxford Magazine* and the *Political Register*, bringing their monthly cargoes of caricatures and inflammable matter, and the engravings which had appeared singly during the earlier years of the reign were republished, and in several instances collected into volumes. But new political heroes were coming on the scene, as objects of popular worship or hatred. Wilkes's career may be said to have closed with his release from imprisonment in 1770. A committee of men who called themselves "The supporters of the Bill of Rights," raised a subscription which relieved him from the pecuniary embarrassment into which he had been thrown by his own improvidence as much as by the persecutions to which he had been exposed; and a week after he left the prison he was admitted an alderman of London. In 1774, he and his friend Serjeant Glynn were elected members for Middlesex without opposition, and he was now allowed to take his seat in the house unmolested. The same year he was elected lord-mayor, and he subsequently obtained the more lucrative and permanent office of chamberlain. In 1780, he was re-elected for Middlesex, and in 1788 he obtained a vote of the house to expunge from its journals the declarations and orders formerly passed against him. He had now, however, become a very insignificant member of the House of Commons; and, having made the most of his patriotism, he exhibited himself as a remarkable instance of tergiversation, disclaiming his own acts, and making no scruple of expressing his contempt for the opinions of his former friends. In 1784, several caricatures celebrated the reconciliation of the "two kings of Brentford." The best of these, published on the 1st of May, of that year, is entitled "The New Coalition," and represents the king and Wilkes embracing, the latter holding the cap of liberty reversed. The patriot says to the monarch, "I now find that you are the best of princes." King George replies, "Sure! the worthiest of subjects, and most virtuous of men!" Another caricature, published on the 3rd of May, represents the king, Lord Thurloe, and Wilkes, leagued in amity together; while a third, the work of some unscrupulous democrat, represents Wilkes and the king hanged on one tree, with the inscription, "Give justice her claims." The "two kings of Brentford" were now indeed equally unpopular with the mob; and at the general election in 1790, Wilkes received the most humiliating defeat on the very hustings where he had so often triumphed in his days of "patriotism." He died on the 26th of December, 1797, and was interred in a vault in Grosvenor Chapel, South Audley Street, where a plain marble tablet, described him simply as "a friend of liberty."

THE RECONCILIATION.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO PAGE 64.

As the York Buildings Company's steam-engine appears not to have attracted much notice in the works on the history of this invention, which has created so extraordinary a revolution in modern society, it may not be thought uninteresting to add here a curious burlesque announcement of its first erection, with one or two other notices of it, taken from the journals of the day.

In the autumn of 1731, the supply of water to Mary-le-bone was discontinued, and the use of the engine was consequently discontinued at the same time. *Read's Journal*, in Sept. 1731, announces briefly that "The York Buildings Company have given over working their fire-engine."

The engine was, however, allowed to remain there for several years, though inactive, and seems to have been shewn as a curiosity. In an account of London published in *All Alive and Merry; or the London Daily Post*, of Saturday, April 18, 1741, we have the following notice of it: "There is a famous machine in York Buildings, which was erected to force water by the means of fire, thro' pipes laid for that purpose into several parts of the town, and it was carry'd on for some time to effect; but the charge of working it, and some other reasons concurring, made its proprietors, the York Buildings Company, lay aside the design; and no doubt but the inhabitants in its neighbourhood are very glad of it; for its working, which was by sea-coal, was attended with so much smoak, that it not only must pollute the air thereabouts, but spoil the furniture."

These apprehensions, which are amusing when we compare them with the present state of the metropolis, appear to have existed previous to the erection of the engine, and form part of the foundation of the following *jeu d'esprit*. It is advertised as "published this day," price 6d., in the *Daily Courant* of December 14, 1725; but it is here reprinted from *Read's Weekly Journal*, of December 18, 1725.

"*The York Buildings Dragons; or, a full and true account of a most horrid and barbarous murder intended to be committed next Monday, on the bodies, goods, and name of the greatest part of his Majesty's liege subjects dwelling and inhabiting between Temple-Bar in the East, and St. James's in the West, and between Hungerford Market in the South, and St. Mary-la-bone in the North, by a set of evil-minded persons, who do assemble twice a week, to carry on their wicked purposes, in a private room over a stable by the Thames side, in a remote corner of the town.*

"Now these conspirators have purchased two enormous dragons from the deserts of Lybia (of such monstrous size that the tail of one of 'em is a mile and a half long,) which they have brought into this metropolis *incognito*, by the assistance of à conjurer, whom they have employed in that matter.

"This conjurer, therefore, by the help of a hunting-whip that has a talisman in the handle of it, contrived a means to *run* these dragons without paying any duty to the government; for, by applying this talisman to the head of each dragon, he shut up all the life within one particular gland of the head, and then anatomically dissected the two monsters, so that they could be easily stowed in several ships, and be brought in as coming from different parts of the world. And accordingly most of the nerves and sinews came from Sweden; the greatest part of the head from Norway, by the help of another conjuror who combined with the first; the joints, and veins, and arteries were brought from Derbyshire; the breast from Worcestershire; and the back and wings from Kent, Berkshire, and Hertfordshire; the belly from Cornwall; and the greatest part of the tail from the West country, except the thick end next to the body, which, together with the snout and teeth, came out of Sussex by sea, and passed at the Custom House for some outlandish curiosity, imported by some virtuosos of Great Britain. *And you know natural knowledge is so much encouraged, that such things never pay any duty, but pass unexamined;* —witness Villette's great burning-glass, the Hugenian telescope, and the wax-work anatomies. Now, if there had been any astrologers among the Custom House officers, nothing of this would have happened; for they are perfectly well acquainted with dragons' heads and dragons' tails. But what would you have men do that never saw a dragon in all their lives? Since there never was any in this kingdom before, but one, and that was at Wantley, almost two hundred miles distant from London, who was killed by More, of More Hall, before he could come southward; and he was but a little dragon in comparison, for he only devoured *three children*, whereas these dragons either have or will devour whole families.

"But to return to our account. The conjuror and his abettors have concealed under a large tract of ground, the dreadful tail* of one of these monsters, and are now vivifying the whole animal by the reunion of its parts; and diffusing its life from the *glandula pinealis* to the very extremities of the nostrils, wings, and tail.

"On Monday, therefore, the 20th instant, at 17 minutes past 10 in the morning, a Lancashire wizzard, with long black hair and grim visage, will for some hours feed the eldest dragon with live coals; and a Welshman, bred on the top of Penmaenmaur, will lay hold of the bridle to direct the motion of the creature. Then on a sudden will the monster clap his wings several times successively with prodigious force, and so terrible will be the noise thereof, that it will be heard as far as Calais, if the wind set right. All those who have musical ears, within the bills of mortality, will be struck deaf; those *who have no ear* will become deaf; and all who were deaf before, will start up and run away.

"The next disaster will be occasioned by the Welshman, who will cry 'Boh!' to make the dragon drink, who immediately dipping his two heads into the Thames, will suck out thence such a prodigious quantity of water, that barges will never after be able to go through bridges; the wharfs will become useless from the Steel Yard to Millbank; and the tide will not rise high enough to fill the basin of a set of good-natured gentlemen who have been at immense pains to serve the new buildings with water.

"*The next calamity will be this,*—That, whereas, the dragon lives upon Newcastle and Scotch coal, (which, by the bye, will produce scarcity of coal, by reason of the great consumption,) and other bituminous substances, and is of himself of a *huffing, snuffing* temper, he will dart out of his nostrils perpendicularly up to the skies two such vast, dense, and opake columns of smoke, that those who live in the Borough will hardly see the sun at noon-day. Now this smoke being *ponderous*, will descend again upon all the neighbouring inhabitants; being *elastic*, will spread and fall upon all the evergreens within ten miles of London; and being *fuliginous*, will so discolour their hue, that it will puzzle a very nice botanist to determine concerning any leaf within that compass of ground whether it be of a *subfuse* or a downright *piceous* colour after this accident. *Happy* will then the ladies be who have papered up all their furniture before they went out of town! *Happy* the stationers who have timely shut up their shops to preserve their paper! And *thrice happy* the poor washer-women, who have closed up and pointed the garret-windows where they have hung up their linen clothes to dry. Besides all this, the sulphureous particles arising from the coals will be so pernicious to the lungs of all who suck them in, that they will break several blood-vessels with coughing. Add to all this, that upon the subsiding of this black pillar, the cities of London and Westminster will lose sight of one another, though in the clearest day; so that nobody can possibly receive any benefit by this contrivance, unless it be the link-boys, who will be absolutely necessary to conduct people through the smoke.

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* This, of course, is an allusion to the wooden pipes, already mentioned, extending from the York Buildings to Mary-le-bone Fields, to convey the Thames water to the great reservoir there.

"*But the worst* consequence of all, and which I almost dread to relate, is, *this dragon's way of poisoning.* Through a long proboscis, something like an elephant's trunk, this creature can at pleasure filtrate and suck in all the venomous effluvia out of the air, water, and other fluids. And, therefore, to make up the desolation of this poor city, he will from the Thames in great abundance draw in all the fœtidocabbageous, deaddogitious, deadcatitious, Fish-streethillious, Drurylanious, issueplasterious, excrementitious, and all common-shoreitious particles therein contained from time to time; and having therewith filled his stomach, this stygious compound will pass the pylorus, and being carried along the viscera by the peristaltic motion, will issue out at the anus, (which in this animal is in the last joint of the tail) with great stench, in vast quantities, into a large receptacle prepared by the aforesaid conjuror for receiving and containing this hellish liquor. Now, as this fluid is always to run in, and never to go out, it is evident to all chemists and naturalists, and several other ingenious gentlemen besides, that there must be an intestine motion, because the fluid stands still, and this intestine motion will cause a fermentation, which fermentation will cast out *undequaque* such pestiferous streams and vapours, as will depopulate all the whole neighbourhood in such a manner that grass will grow in Queen Anne Street, Chandos Street, Mortimer Street, and all the adjacent streets, till the genius of architecture comes to the relief of the desolate place. And if it should so happen, that, by the violent motion of the beast, it should receive any wounds in its tail, from every wound will issue with impetuosity rivers of this abominable liquor, which will inundate and render impassable the streets, drown all those that come within its vortex, and such as venture to look out of their chamber-windows will be suffocated with the putrid vapour.

" *To conclude* my dismal story: I must let the world know that these conspirators are enemies to the souls as well as the bodies of all persons they can have any influence over, by setting up a new kind of *Popery,* and have already persuaded several families to worship these dragons. Among other things, they have a ceremony much like *Transubstantiation;* for, by the mixture of Ceres and Neptune, *(and what is the Popish Host but bread and water?)* they have contrived *a consigillated wafer*, which turns paper into money.

" Now, to give my reader a little hope, before I quit this melancholy tale, I must acquaint him that a set of honest and brave gentlemen intend to prosecute these *vile men,* who will find themselves deceived in trusting to the *Toleration Act;* for that act allows of no *image-worship* within ten miles of London, except it be in a foreign amb——r's chapel.

" Written by a club of ingenious gentlemen.

" *Anodine Necklace,* Secretary."

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